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THE FOURFOLD MAN IN THE WORK OF WILLIAM BLAKE

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE FOURFOLD MAN IN THE WORK OF WILLIAM BLAKE submitted by Cecil Anthony Abrahams in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Date 8 October, 1976

DEDICATION

To my devoted parents, sisters and brothers in South Africa. Their faith in my persistence helped to overcome the constraints of a racist society.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study, THE FOURFOLD MAN IN THE WORK OF WILLIAM BLAKE, is to explore and develop the many ramifications of the metaphor of fourfold man which preoccupies Blake in his work. Through the use of the fourfold metaphor Blake can show man how he has fallen from a dynamic reality into a world of spectrous division where the Cloven Fiction exists of subject and object, mind and body, and feminine and masculine. The study limits itself to the more important aspects of fourfold man: man as the four faces of Albion: Urizen, Los, Luvah, and Tharmas; man's four visionary kingdoms: Eden, Beulah, Ulro, and Generation; and man as history: Africa, Asia, Europe, and America.

The first two chapters of this study are mainly descriptive. Attempts are made here to define and to describe the concept of fourfoldness, particularly in application to the four zoas and the four kingdoms of man. The last chapter demonstrates the working of the fourfold metaphor in the individual texts. Here the emphasis is on the historical division of the fallen world and there are close readings of the poems which embrace the history of Africa, Asia, Europe, and America. Since the particular in Blake's world is also the whole, attempts are made, particularly in the reading of The Song of Los, The Book of Urizen, The Visions of the Daughters of Albion, "The Little Black Boy," The Songs of Innocence and of Experience, The Book of Ahania, Europe, America, and The French Revolution, to show how individual poems, though complete by themselves, are integrally bound to Blake's vision of man's Fall and Redemption.

FAINT LETTERING

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

BLAKE'S WORK

PS = Poetical Sketches
TTNR = There is No Natural Religion
ARO = All Religions are One
SI = Songs of Innocence
BT = The Book of Thel
FR = The French Revolution
MHH = The Marriage of Heaven and Hell
VDA = Visions of the Daughters of Albion
A = America
SE = Songs of Experience
BU = The Book of Urizen
E = Europe
SL = The Song of Los
BA = The Book of Ahania
BL = The Book of Los
FZ = The Four Zoas
M = Milton
DC = A Descriptive Catalogue
VLJ = A Vision of the Last Judgment
J = Jerusalem
EG = Everlasting Gospel

PERIODICALS

A = Arena
BCLQ = British Columbia Library Quarterly
BN = Blake Newsletter
BNYPL = Bulletin of the New York Public Library
BR = Bucknell Review
BS = Blake Studies
BSUF = Ball State University Forum.
C = Criticism
CL = Comparative Literature
CQ = Critical Quarterly
E = The Explicator
EIC = Essays in Criticism

ELN = English Language Notes
HSL = Hartford Studies in Literature
JAAC = Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism
JEGP = Journal of English and Germanic Philology
JWCI = Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute
LQR = London Quarterly Review
M = Mainstream
MLN = Modern Language Notes
MP = Modern Philology
N &Q = Notes and Queries
NR = New Reasoner
NWMSCS = Northwest Missouri State College Studies
PLL = Papers in Literature and Language
PMLA = Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PQ = Philological Quarterly
SAQ = South Atlantic Quarterly
SIEL = Studies in English Literature
SIR = Studies in Romanticism
SR = Sewanee Review
TSIE = Texas Studies in English
TSLL = Texas Studies in Literature and Language

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER

I. THE FOUR FACES OF MAN 5
    1 Urizen 12
    2 Los 25
    3 Luvah 37
    4 Tharmas 47
II. THE FOUR VISIONARY KINGDOMS 60
    1 Eden 65
    2 Beulah 73
    3 Ulro 81
    4 Generation 86
III. THE FOUR CONTINENTS 97
    1 Africa 102
    2 Asia 146
    3 Europe and America 170
BIBLIOGRAPHY 293

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to explore and develop the many ramifications of the metaphor of fourfold man which preoccupies Blake in his work. To describe to fallen man what has happened to him since he relapsed from creative energy in an imaginative life in Eden to passive slothfulness in Ulro, Blake, the artist, must demonstrate the degree to which man's vision is limited by the condition of his fall and show him how far he has drifted away from Eden or oneness. Through the use of the fourfold metaphor Blake can show man how he has fallen from a dynamic reality, a world of spectrous division where the Cloven Fiction exists of subject and object, mind and body, and feminine and masculine. This study attempts to show how for Blake man's perception is reduced to one-foldness and the consequences to man when he allows this to happen. It attempts to show how tyrants discourage freedom, art, from taking hold in man and society. When man forsakes error, the fallen world, by re-gaining true perception and embracing truth, Eden, oneness, the meaning of the oneness-metaphor of fourfold man will have changed little, for history or division has in any case been a reality only for those to whom it has so seemed.

Blake describes this fall from oneness into division in many ways, and, as Frye and Rose have observed,[1] a large number of "associations" of fourfold man may be drawn up. This study, however, limits itself to the more important aspects of fourfold man: man as the four faces of Albion: Urizen, Los, Luvah, and Tharmas; man's four visionary kingdoms: Eden, Beulah, Ulro, and Genration; and man as history: Africa, Asia, Europe, and America.

Because the metaphor of fourfold man is so central to all of Blake's writing, most of the major criticism in Blake studies has commented in some manner on it.[2] A study which claims to look at all of Blake's writing must undoubtedly be the recipient either consciously or unconsciously of the ideas of these major critics. This study attempts to bring together most of the important concepts and aspects of the fourfold metaphor. Emphasis is placed particularly on the movement of the psychology of man: how man thinks and acts in solitary and social situations where his imagination has been relegated to an unconscious position, and how man can deal with such a situation when he is free. Therefore, it is not a study which makes a detailed investigation of fourfold metaphors as such. It concerns itself with the general consequences for Blake of man's grasping or failure to grasp the metaphor. Nor is it a close description of each concept in Blake. It describes various concepts, but it is more interested in the interdependent relations of these concepts, the movement of man from one state into another, and the final disappearance of states of history in the Last Judgment. Moreover, it is not a study of the figures and the times that shape the history of Blake's lifespan, but how history is shaped by man in his degrees of fallen vision, and how history or the Fall must necessarily reach its nadir before the historical error will be recognized and man freed of tyranny or history forever.

The first two chapters are mainly descriptive. Attempts are made here to define and to describe the concept of fourfoldness, particularly in application to the four zoas and the four kingdoms of man. The last chapter demonstrates the working of the fourfold metaphor in the individual texts. Here the emphasis is on the historical division of the fallen world and there are close readings of the poems which embrace the history of Africa, Asia, Europe, and America. Since the particular in Blake's world is also the whole, attempts are made, particularly in the reading of The Song of Los, The Book of Urizen, The Visions of the Daughters of Albion, "The Little Black Boy," The Songs of Innocence and of Experience, The Book of Ahania, Europe, America, and The French Revolution, to show how individual poems, though complete by themselves, are integrally bound to Blake's vision of man's Fall and Redemption.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1] See Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*; and Rose, "'Mental Forms Creating': 'Fourfold Vision' and the Poet as Prophet in Blake's Designs and Verse," *JAAC*; and "Blake's Metaphorical States," *BS*.

[2] See Rose, "The Structure of Blake's *Jerusalem*," *BR*; "'Mental Forms Creating': 'Fourfold Vision' and the Poet as Prophet in Blake's Designs and Verse," *JAAC*; "Blake's Fourfold Art," *PQ*; and "Good-bye to Orc and All That," *BS*; Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*; Damon, *Blake's Philosophy and Symbols*; and *A Blake Dictionary*; Erdman, *Prophet Against Empire*; Paley, *Energy and Imagination*.

I

THE FOUR FACES OF MAN

> Four Mighty Ones are in every Man; a Perfect Unity
> Cannot Exist but from the Universal Brotherhood of Eden,
> The Universal Man, to Whom be Glory Evermore. Amen.
>
> (FZ 1:264)

> ...and in the midst of the throne, and round about the
> throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind,
>
> (Rev. 4:6)

The four faces of man or the four zoas are bound integrally with the history of Albion. It is the redemption of the zoas from their fallen state which is the form and meaning of the history of Albion. Blake refers to Albion as early as the Poetical Sketches ("King Edward the Third":32). Here Albion is the land England from which "Liberty" and Empire shall flow. Although this association may be related to some of the mythological theories of Blake's time,[1] he does not treat Albion, or any of the other characters in the myth as mythology. Blake sees these figures as "mental forms creating" (M 30:519), as living aspects of the human drama of life. Blake is constantly shifting his perspective so as not to suggest a definite solution to a problem.

The basic form of Eternity for Blake is a constant expansion (J5:623). He strives to reveal to man both the perceived and unperceived sides of a question. Blake is the Poet-Prophet who must create living forms in a fallen, deadly society, and his Albion and the other characters of the myth are being reawakened from the world of deadly abstraction so as to participate in the recreative drama of life. Rose says that "Blake's poetry is mythopoeic and not mythological precisely because it is a structure of images, symbols, and metaphors which contain conceptual implications and incorporate a point of view."[2] It is reasonable therefore to claim that Blake's books are mainly accounts of the usurpations, divisions, and conflicts of the four zoas which are similar to the many social, political, economic and psychological problems that man experience daily in a fallen world. It is man who is being recreated and Blake is preoccupied with how man reached his fallen state, why he lingers in this state, how man will discover his fallenness, and how he will finally overthrow his state by embracing Truth. It is through the fall, disintegration, and reintegration of the zoas that the whole of man's history is illustrated. It is through the inability of the zoas to communicate in a fallen world that the sorriness of man's condition is observed. It is also, finally, through the zoas' ability to "converse together in Visionary forms dramatic"(J98:746) that regeneration occurs.

When Albion is in a fully awakened state, when he is not reposing in the illusionary world of Beulah or has not fallen asleep in Ulro, he possesses fourfold vision. This means that he can see all four sides of an object at the same time,[3] and he includes within himself, consciously, all that man has and can ever be. This is the "Human Imagination," the "Divine Vision & Fruition/In which Man liveth eternally" (M32:521), and Albion's life is the total life which is called the vision of Jesus. Albion is androgynous, he does not perceive divisions between soul and body nor man and nature, nor does he concern himself with abstract rules of morality. For him, "every thing that lives is holy" (VDA 8:195).

Albion, in his awakened state, is the variety of oneness, and he is "Eyed as the Peacock" in fourfold vision seeing the Sun not as the ratio of the "guinea" (VLJ 92-95:617), but as "blood red wrath surrounding heaven, on all sides around,/Glorious, incomprehensible by Mortal Man" (J 98:745). For Albion thought and action are one, and the four immortal faces of man, who are unified within him, are engaged in continuous mental warfare with each Zoa contributing to the dynamic oneness of Albion. This is total vision where unity is not conformity or static harmony, where each zoa is a contrary to the other zoas.

When Albion relapses from active creative energy to passivity he causes the Fall, which is Albion's sleep from the Creation to the Last Judgment, and he becomes mortal, sexual, and disorganized. Albion's sleep, however, is not a fall into "hardened one-dimensional metaphor,"[4] for the source of his life is the total life of Jesus and his sleep, though not healthy like the sleep of the eternals in Beulah, can be stopped. He can be awakened from it unlike the state of Satan whose "Opakeness," formles "Rocky hardness" accumulates "without end" (J 73:713). In fact, Albion's sleep is a nightmarish vision of what had happened to him and what is to continue to occur. His nightmarish vision is similar to Adam being shown by Michael at the end of Paradise Lost what sort of nightmare he is to enter. Hence in The Four Zoas there is the continuous retelling of the Fall Story by the Daughters of Beulah, and Albion is not dead but restless on his "couch of death." Albion "must Sleep/The Sleep of Death till the Man of Sin & Repentance be reveal'd" (J 29:653). Albion's sleep is a drift into the error of Ulro and it is Los through the vision of Jesus who reawakens him when the Last Judgment is at hand. Albion's sleep is not a state of nothingness; it is an indication that man has forsaken "Brotherhood and Universal love" and seeks out "the places dark/Abstracted from the roots of Science" (FZ 9:374). Imagination informs man that everything exists within him and that therefore he is master of his own destiny; that he controls all his mental and bodily processes which are in reality mind-body processes until apparently separated in the Fall into the delusion that exists outside of man that these things are outside of his reach. It is, then, a perversion of true perception; it is the tyrant's chief weapon in sabotaging art or Liberty: "A pretence of Art to destroy Art" (J 43:672). And it is around the exponents of false art, "a Class of Men whose whole delight is in Destroying" (M1:480), that the tyrant establishes his tyranny and deceives man as to his own nature and the choices he is free to make. The exponents of false art create static myths of nature and reason which cause man to believe he has no power over his own destiny. They create a cosmology of stasis which ignores the organic unity of all things and forces man to make, like the scientist, not only spectrous distinctions between things but to make him a passive victim of these distinctions. Abstraction arises when man exploits man or treats the other as a separation between subject and object: thus a "human abstract" grows in man's brain (SE:217). Abstraction is the beginning of a system of enslavement, a growth of a Priesthood whose task is "to realize or abstract the mental deities from their objects" and to make fallen man forget "that All deities reside in the human breast" (MHH 11:153). Blake means by "Priesthood" all the forces which war against Jesus, the divine imagination, the forces of tyrannic religion and state allied. What has happened is that the particular attributes of "Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love" of "The Divine Image" (SI:117), those unselfish attributes which are "God, our father dear" and "Man, his child and care," have been abstracted into generalities which fit well into the political speeches of the selfish tyrant but which now contribute to Poverty, Cruelty, false Humility, Deceit, and Mystery.

This fall into dualism or static contradiction Blake sees as the "feminine perceptions" (M 12:492). Jerusalem is Liberty and the fall of Albion is the separating of man from his joy, his desire, his freedom, his power, his knowledge, his Emanation. As in Freud there is now a division within man between the pleasure-principle and the reality-principle. The Female Will, the rebellion of objectivity, has created a world which is divided because it is static. Division is all, rather than all things being identified, because energy is frozen. Energy is frozen, by which in Eden a thing was eternal in continually becoming its opposite in Mental War (the war of mutual sacrifice). Yet Mental War is not of course Religion's attempt "to reconcile the two" contraries (MHH 15:155). On the contrary, the identity of all (contrary) things is in their minute distinction one from another, even as the Cloven Fiction, dualism, is the breakdown of minute distinctions ultimately and the hermaphroditic condensation of all things into a frozen mass. Since there is no energy, no humanity, it is also a vacuum, the ultimate demonic parody of the unfallen ecstatic union of man with his emanation. Hence the feminine or sexual or divided perceptions of fallen man give rise to all aspects of the Cloven Fiction: subject-object, substance-essence, one-many, ego-self, form-content, language-thought, and work-play.

The four zoas, Tharmas, Urizen, Luvah and Urthona, are in Eden four living creatures that are united in Albion in oneness. They work together to ensure Albion's dynamic vision. But with Albion's fall he scatters into forms indicative of a complicated spiritual confusion, and the Zoas, now "beasts" (because they are continually at war), become a parody of their eternal relationships and Albion's rôle as master of the zoas is turned into that of being their prey. In Jesus the Divine Vision, all things are identified, man, the universe, and God. In the demonic vision, the zoas rebel against Albion and contradict and destroy one another:

> They saw their Wheels rising up poisonous against Albion:
> Urizen cold & scientific, Luvah pitying & weeping,
> Tharmas indolent & sullen, Urthona doubting & despairing,
> Victims to one another & dreadfully plotting against each other
> To prevent Albion walking about in the Four Complexions.
>
> (J 43:671)

In the vision of the history of fallen man as his redemption, the new world unveiled is totally different in every way from the old. It is the Zoas who express the contrary natures of the two worlds as well as their ultimate unification when the pattern of history as redemption is revealed. By the same token, even in their division the Zoas are united. The fall of Urizen is division from Los and hence is the fall of Los. The fallen strife of Urizen and Luvah is the fall of Tharmas. Again, the Zoas are in a way fallen and unfallen at the same time, at least after the redemption of Los, for then the three are fallen but he is not (or, rather, he is fallen and unfallen at the same time), and their redemption is in him. Urizen's and Luvah's hurting each other hurts themselves as well as Tharmas. Urizen's victory is his own defeat. In their fallen or divided state, zoas nevertheless become each other's parents: Tharmas of Los and Los of Orc or Luvah. Zoas die and are reborn. Their story is providential: it is a unity made up of conflicting parts, in which freedom and consciousness arise out of tyranny and ignorance. Thus Los descends to the bestial level of Urizen to provide his redemption, and Jesus descends to become incarnate as Luvah in order to preserve the state called Luvah from extinction.

The zoas, in Eden, live in the unity of Albion's Imagination, which "is not a State: it is the Human Existence itself" (M 32:522). But when Albion perceives divisions and the zoas rebel, the contrary qualities of the zoas are divided from the Imagination and they become States, which, according to Milton (32:522), are a separation from the Imagination:

> "Affection or Love becomes a State when divided from Imagination.
> The Memory is a State always, & the Reason is a State
> Created to be Annihilated & a new Ratio Created.
> Whatever can be Created can be Annihilated: Forms cannot."

States, then, even though separated from the Imagination, are not a Satanic void, but are an artifice of the imagination and can change according to the forms which fallen man sees himself. The zoas can "annihilate" any of the errors which have been created during the fall and can change their states continuously. But, often, the state is changed into an abstraction, which is a further separation from the "Human Existence." What happens to the four faces of man is this battle not to fall into the state of abstraction, and, in fact, to demonstrate that man is variety not uniformity. To restore such a condition, the Zoas must actively overcome everything that wars against their Imagination. Such a unity prevails only as the result of a process of mediation between the living subject as it is and its objective conditions.

1

Urizen in the fallen world is the tyrant figure of Blake's myth and he demonstrates best the forms of "horror" the state of abstraction can take. Urizen is described as the father of restrictive natural religion who reads from his book of iron and brass; and who governs man by "One Law for the Lion and the Ox" (MHH 22-24:158). Urizen is Albion's head, man's intellect or reason. In his unfallen state he is the zenith of man, the wise, creative leader who hung the "immortal lamps" in the "Brain of Man" (FZ 1:272). Reason in the unity of Albion is a higher intellect and is the contrary in-union of "Energy" which is "necessary to Human existence" (MHH 3:149). Reason is the "bound or outward circumference of Energy" (MHH4:149); it is the necessary "Devourer" without whom the

"Prolific" would "cease to be" unless "the Devourer, as a sea, recieved the excess of his delights" (MHH 15-17:155). This is how eternal relationships work; each zoa is actively engaged in mental warfare and the retention of Imagination. Energy, which is "Eternal Delight" (MHH 4:149), needs Reason, because the Imagination is never out of proportion. However, the unity of reason and imagination is the dynamic one of mental war, which tyranny tries to turn into various institutions in division by reconciling these contrary forces, and "seeks to destroy existence" (MHH 15-17:155).

Furthermore, in Eden, Urizen is the zenith and his direct contrary is Urthona, the nadir. The result of the rebellion by the zoas, which is also one of the causes of Albion's fall, is the war between Urizen and Luvah to occupy the zenith (FZ 1:278). This act of domination turns the zenith, a necessary aspect of Albion's unity, into a powerful area of control. But the zenith in the fall becomes the nadir of man, in the unreal night of Ulro, and Los becomes the true leader of man. Urizen now becomes an individualistic psychology, and a social system based upon fear, possessiveness, and greed. Urizen becomes "the Abstract Horror roof'd, stony hard" refusing "all Definite Form" (M 3:482). Now he is but "the ratio of all we have known" and tries to limit "Man" to "his reasoning power" by which he "can only compare & judge of what he has already perciev'd" (TNNR:97). Man, in the Urizenic state, reduces unity or variety or fourfoldness to uniformity or division with its system of rewards and punishments.

Albion's faith in his unitive existence, which is his unity in brotherhood and with the universe, is destroyed when he falls into the state of Urizen. He becomes a slave of "demonstration...alone," of the illusory static and allegedly objective fact of the status quo, denying his "Humanity" and seeking "princedom and victory" through the help of "Laws of Moral Virtue" (J 4:622). It is Urizen's "Abstract objecting power" (J 10:629) that makes Albion believe in the separation of subject and object, perceiver and perceived. Now Albion's law is "To separate a Law of Sin, to punish thee [Los] in thy members" (J 7:626): thus war and social inequality are justified by laws of Moral Virtue. Albion in the state of Urizen denies that "God is within & without" (J 12:631) and sees everything as being outside of himself, remote and unchangeable. The consequences of such a separation are endless: enmity occurs between man and his false God, man and man, man and nature, and man and his spectre and emanation. Albion "wall[s]" (J 12:632) himself up, enfolds himself in his veil of moral virtue (J 23:646), and departs "into the Wastes of Moral Law" (J 24:647).

Urizen thus establishes a world of necessity. He creates the "circle of destiny," the destructive "corporeal" or dualistic warfare of the opposites, the slaughtering of one by the other. The "circle of destiny" replaces the fruitful (Eden) war of self-sacrifice for others' good. Urizen thinks he has found "a solid without fluctuation" and "joy without pain" (BU 4:224). In laying his compasses on the deep, Urizen, in the rôle of the demiurge, becomes the creator of the fallen world. Urizen is the false creator-figure of Blake's myth, whose circle narrows and darkens into a Satanic dot as the pressure of tyranny grows. Now the human form is withered up "By laws of sacrifice for sin,/Till [man] bec[o]me[s] a Mortal Worm" (J 27:651).

For Blake the creation of the world is not the work of an imaginative God. Creation out of nothing is division: is essentially mind fallen into the static error "space" which has its birth through Urizen's fall. Blake describes his understanding of creation in A Vision of the Last Judgment (91-92:614):

> Many suppose that before the Creation All was Solitude & Chaos. This is the most pernicious Idea that can enter the Mind, as it takes away all sublimity from the Bible & Limits All Existence to Creation & to Chaos, To the Time & Space fixed by the Corporeal Vegetative Eye, & leaves the Man who entertains such an Idea the habitation of Unbelieving demons. Eternity Exists, and All things in Eternity, Independent of Creation which was an act of Mercy.

Urizen's creation is a perverse parody of the Edenic world which is creative, which is not a static ratio as is Urizen's creation of circumscribed solids and vacuums. Urizen's creation seems to forbid fallen man a way out of the tyrannic state into which he has fallen. The societies and individuals who are circumscribed by Urizen's circles and globes are now guided by memory rather than creativity, by a false philosophy according to which things can only turn and return upon themselves. Urizen's world is the illusion space, which seems vast but is actually very small, being bound by the starry Mundane Shell, which is really only man's benighted skull. Urizen's creation is the shrinking of perception: the brain, which once expanded on every side, is now confinded in a dark cave, roofed over with a stony skull. As in the Platonic cave, only imperfect shadows of reality are perceived. The infinite is reduced to the finite, and external restraints, that is moral virtue and state law, are now substituted for "The eternal laws of God " (BU 28:236) which reside in the human breast. Urizen, a shrunken figure, blind and aged like Tiriel, dominates man now by guile and design. He spreads a net of "Mystery," with its ceremonies, its "Angels," its hierarchies of Kings and Priests, and its promise of an "allegorical abode." Urizen is seated beside the rock whereon the mortal Albion sleeps, writing his commandments on tablets of stone beneath the Tree of Mystery:

> "Laws of peace, of love, of unity,
> Of pity, compassion, forgiveness;
> Let each chuse one habitation,
> His ancient infinite mansion,
> One command, one joy, one desire,
> One curse, one weight, one measure,
> One King, one God, one Law."
>
> (BU 4:224)

Urizen assumes that by establishing one rule of conformity he has succeeded in bringing fallen man back to the oneness of Eden; however, it is only a system which fosters passiveness that he has devised and through which he hopes he can maintain certainty (it is his neurotic fear of the future which causes his fall in Eden) and control. Urizen's laws, founded on memory, oppose the dynamism of Eden and relegate man to slavery. What Urizen fails to recognize is that man is not a general or abstract form, but a "minute particular" as Los points out:

> "...Why stand we here trembling around
> . . . .
> ...building Heavens Twenty-seven-fold,
> Swell'd & bloated General Forms repugnant to the Divine-
> Humanity who is the Only General and Universal Form,
> To which all Lineaments tend & seek with love & sympathy.
> All broad & general principles belong to benevolence

Who protects minute particulars every one in their own identity."

(J 43:672)

Urizen's system spawns a Priesthood who serves the tyrant by dominating man through sophistry and the force of war, torture, and death. For Blake this is Deism, the priest-king collaboration in its true, perennial, and historically unfolding form. This is how Blake describes Deism:

> Listen! Every Religion that Preaches Vengeance for Sin is the Religion of the Enemy & Avenger and not of the Forgiver of Sin, and their God is Satan, Named by the Divine Name. Your Religion, O Deists! Deism, is the Worship of the God of this World by the means of what you call Natural Religion and Natural Philosophy, and of Natural Morality or Self-Righteousness, the Selfish Virtues of the Natural Heart. This was the Religion of the Pharisees who murder'd Jesus. Deism is the same & ends in the same.
>
> (J 52:682)

For Blake, Deism is not an isolated nor local phenomenon but the apocalyptic crisis in history; history being the struggle of Los to free Jerusalem from the spectre of Albion. Jerusalem is man's freedom, man's desire, the fullest development of the senses and the Imagination, the harmony and peace of Eden (J 15:635-636). Priestcraft has always crucified Luvah, has always crucified man's emotions, his experience of the numinous, in order to gain political power. Therefore Deism is Druidism all over again, except that the new development which "Deism" properly speaking represents is the use of reason and nature by priestcraft, instead of the alleged supernatural, for political power. By substituting reason and nature for the supernatural as the alleged support for and basis of tyranny, priestcraft now achieves the driving of emotion or the numinous into the unconscious, where it can better be manipulated than when man is aware of it. Now reason can no longer criticise priestcraft, for the emotions upon which the priest now plays are below the level of consciousness. The irrational, and yet now seemingly unassailable by reason, because unconscious, thesis upon which the tyrant now governs,is that tyranny is reason and nature, and freedom but an airy fantasy. Yet it is reason and nature which are fantasy: the nightmare fantasy of a static Newtonian universe with its static (Cartesian-) Lockian subject and object and its static Baconian tyrant and slave, in which man chooses the tyrant rather than freedom because he fears freedom more because he fears, rejects, and represses his own feelings and his own sensations.

For Blake "Morality or Self-Righteousness, the Selfish Virtues of the Natural Heart," refers at once to the doctrines of all three members of that demonic trinity, Newton (the ego in its self-repressive function), Bacon (the tyrant oppressing society), and Locke (the dualism of subject and object). Since reality is mental, historical analysis and metaphysics and psychology (dealing respectively with matter, spirit, and their meeting in the soul of the individual) must all ultimately be one. But dualism is essentially and is exactly equivalent to the belief in a static universe, society, and individual. What unites the three sciences, then, of society, the universe, and the individual (which Bacon, Newton, and Locke, respectively, try to destroy) is the vision of a dynamic reality, of a changing society, universe, and individual. Such a dialectical vision, which is a faith, a courage, an audacity, will come when man overthrows the static domination of Deism and reasserts the mental warfare of Eden.

Whereas Newton presents an essentially logical system of the world, and a large number of eighteenth century intellectuals believed that the world is logically describable. Newton and those he influences (those who are attracted to his system because of its impressive predictive power and capacity for empirical verification) fail to see that the very fact of existence can never be subsumed within a closed system of thought however broad and inclusive. Blake interprets Newton's system as uniting (reconciling like Urizen), in the form of demonic parody or disguise, the powerful drives which unite in the "human imagination." For Blake, Newton's doctrine of action, "To every Action there is always opposed an unequal Reaction,"[5] is actually repression of action, a constraining of action within finite boundaries. Blake, therefore, visualizes Newton's system as providing a usurpation of and substitution for the very vision he himself is trying to communicate. This Newtonian or physical search for a "solid without fluctuation" (Newton chose external nature as the arbiter of his concepts) is not separate from the Baconian or political search for a place among the "Elect;" for despite the attempts of the Baconian-Newton-Lockian monster to conceal its essential unity physical reality is not separate from mental. The Lockian woof, which is "Science" (BU 19:231), which is the surrounding of man and then his separation from his object, rages dire as "A Garment of War," a "Woof of Six Thousand Years" (M 42:534) embracing all of fallen history.And Newton's "water wheels," with "tyrannic cogs."fold "over every Nation" moving everything by force, by war, by torture, unlike the wheels in Eden, which, "Wheel within Wheel, in freedom revolve in harmony & peace" (J 15:636). The attempt by the static triple monstrous form of Newton-Bacon-Locke to grind man into submission will not succeed because man will become dynamic again and the triple form will be revealed for what it is. This is why Blake is not content simply to reveal the Satanic nature of Newton's system, but he is also vitally concerned with having his prophetic spokesman Los erect redemptive forms out of Satanic structure. Hence Los creates a "World of Generation from the World of Death/Dividing the Masculine & Feminine" (J 58:690). Forms of life "Vegetate/Beneath Los's Hammer, that Life may not be blotted out" (J 90:737). In this way the creation of Generation is an act of mercy to keep the Satanic drive from ultimately negating the true creative contraries of Eternity. Los's act involves the redemptive counterpart of the division and separation that Urizen performs in The Book of Urizen.

Blake does not object blindly to reason or to the eighteenth century's emphasis on Science. He is not against reason, though he may be said to be against rationalism with its ceremonies and system. It is just that he is for a higher reason than that of Bacon, Newton, and Locke: a reason which can comprehend and rejoice in change rather than be baffled by it. Blake is for Reason as the developing and applied knowledge of man; Reason as free thought. He objects to a Reason that is instrumental in sustaining injustice, toil and suffering. Neither is he an anti-scientific philistine, as Fisher observes:

> the interest in the operations of the human mind from an experimental point of view appealed to Blake, but like other interests and pursuits of the eighteenth century, he found that they formed a parody of his own conception of experiment. As he understood it, experiment was not a lottery for establishing a pattern of natural effects, but a discipline of growth which culminated in a more advanced degree of conscious existence.[6]

Blake rejects Science when it approximates the complete and definite structure of the Imagination itself. For Blake the new science, with its mathematical formulae, is but a new and deeper imprisonment of the human spirit within the ratio of the five senses. The new science is a return to the Greek gods, who, like Newton's universe, are "Mathematical Diagrams" (Laocoon: 776) who claim to use mathematical norms to correct man's perception of himself. The new science is the single vision of Urizen' state, the Newtonian Telescope that deals in ratios and not in creation (M 29:516) and sees "Lawful Heaven[s]" (Anno. to Thornton 1:787) bounded by single vision. This static or rational perception of life's dynamic processes is, for Blake, contempt:

> I [feel]... Contempt & Abhorrence [for them]....
> They mock Inspiration & Visiion. Inspiration & Vision
> was then, & now is, & I hope will always Remain, my
> Element, my Eternal Dwelling place; how can I then
> hear it Contemned without returning Scorn for Scorn?
>
> (Anno. to Reynolds 244:477)

Tyranny, institutionalized contempt, is based for Blake upon a philosophy of contempt for life, which is the necessary attitude of those for whom reality is a system of ratios of the things of memory. Like Kierkegaard, Blake believes that "the sphere in which every person lives is one of contingency, and of contingency there can be no system."[7] Existence makes absurd any attempt to think of reality as an unchanging whole, a systematized pattern. Kierkegaard says "Existence as experienced by a living man is never other than a possibility."[8]

The reduction of man to a ratio or the abstraction of "mental deities from their objects" is particularly noticeable in the established

Church whether of Blake's time or perennially. For Blake, true religion is "Politics" and "Brotherhood": "Are not Religion & Politics the Same Thing? Brotherhood is Religion,/O Demonstrations of Reason Dividing Families in Cruelty & Pride! " (J 57:689). This is the religion of Jesus rather than of Satan. But this religion, which existed once and will again after the Last Judgment, is turned into a system in the state of single Urizenic perception and becomes "natural religion," which is the worshipping of remote objects separated from the human breast. Now religion consists of state rituals and expresses its contempt for man in its pious precepts, a piety that has little interest in Christian doctrine except as a support for Christian (in Blake's opinion unchristian) ethics.

Christianity, in the state of Urizen, is a code, a ratio, a number, rather than the art of life which Christ represents. The creativity and buoyancy of Christ's teachings are due, for Blake, to the fact that Christianity is the spirit of creativity and of being always in the process of becoming. Christianity is the enemy of every static, sterile system of life. For Blake, the following passage from St. Paul (Gal. 3:13) is not, anymore than in his own "To the Jews" (J 27: 649), a mere polemic against the Jews, but rather both compositions are simply attacks upon the institution, upon any usurpation of brotherhood by fatherhood: "With freedom did Christ set us free, for Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us." There can be no reason whatever for institutional religion , institutional veneration and ritual , but moral pressure; that is, the conflict between tyrant and slave. No institution nor convention whatever can exist without a " religious" (in this sense of moral pressure) element. The group dynamics of even the smallest group show patterns of dominency. Hence man's task is to do away with all authority whatever, because all authority is "natural religion": moral pressure not essentially connected in any way with the "supernatural religion" with which it may or may not pretend to be involved. The forms taken by human energy depend upon that energy, which comes from within man; any attempt to circumscribe or control energy from without, even in the name of peace, is tyranny or war.

Natural religion issues in self-righteousness, which is the distinction the victimizer makes between himself and his victim when he punishes him, and the believer in Christ's teachings challenges it. True Christianity opposes the spirit of oppression whatever its weapons, whether abstract moral norms or slavery and war. True morality is of course situational: the One exists only in the Many; the ideal of brotherhood in the minute particularities of its expression. Liberty is the true morality: "The Gospel is Forgiveness of Sins & has No Moral Precepts" (Anno. to Watson 117:395). The false morality of natural religion or the tyrant-priest has as its sole aim the division of man from man and from himself: "No individual can keep these Laws, for they are death/ To every energy of man and forbid the springs of life" (J 35:662).

To the soul-body dualism of the Church, by which it attempts by means of the false doctrine of "soul" to bind in the body or energy of man, Blake opposes his doctrine that the body is only the outward bound or bondage of the soul. Blake says that man has permitted priest and king to persuade him to see the body as the weak, shrunken, dense, and opaque thing it now seems to have become. Thus affectionate love as in "The Garden of Love" (SE:215) and "A Little Girl Lost" (SE:219) and *The Visions of the Daughters of Albion* is declared evil and is punished. The suppression of desire leads to disastrous consequences: "the Marriage hearse" (SE:216) where unloving couples are lawfully bound; the "Harlot's curse" (SE:216) of false love and disease; and the repressed virgin who masturbates in "the secret shadows of her chamber" (VDA 7:194). Man in the state of Urizen is on every level a victim of the tyrant, which he can be forever if he does not recognize his body as a unitive "portion" of the soul. But states are changeable, and even Urizen, in a moment of true insight, can see why imaginative man despairs at his closed system:

> He in darkness clos'd view'd all his race,
> And his soul sicken'd! he curs'd
> Both sons & daughters; for he saw
> That no flesh nor spirit could keep
> His iron laws one moment.
>
> (BU 23:235)

But the net of Urizen and the tree of moral virtue spread into a labyrinth of moral evil (J 28:653) and Urizen, himself, becomes a slave of his curse: "he who makes his law a curse,/By his own law shall surely die" (J 27:652). It is Urizen's fear of death which caused the fall of man from Eden, and it is his striving for peace and stability which produces war and chaos, and which finally enslaves him and raises the true possibility of death (unlike the feared vision of death which Urizen has in Eternity). But the state of Urizen is part of a providential scheme and it is saved from Entuthon Benython, the "unknown night, indefinite, unmeasurable, without end" (J 5:624), by the imaginative contrary of Urizen, Urthona, with the help of Jesus.

2

The opposition or spiritual frienship of Urizen and Urthona is expressed in many ways. For instance, in Urizen taking the rôle of tyrant and priest and Los that of the watchman-poet-prophet. Los is the Poetic Genius, who is the vision which he possesses and controls, and who, as Urthona, is sometimes said to have fallen into the form of Los and then to have been redeemed, and sometimes never to have fallen at all. Urizen is the zoa who abstracts the creative principle and reduces it to a ratio, whereas Los is the creative principle that raises man's fallen single vision into total vision or fourfoldness. He is the visionary process, the visionary eye of a visionary body, the archetype of the artist prophet. Los acts against Urizen, whose sole purpose for existing is to constantly reduce man to the ratio of things known so that man can repeat the same dull round over again. Although Urthona does not become embroiled in the warfare of Urizen and Luvah in Beulah, his world falls and becomes the frozen battlefield, the shadowy North. However, it remains at the same time the underground of potential imagination and the only possible escape from time and history. Were man to deny the imagination, which is to deny existence (which cannot really happen), he would sink into eternal death, which is outside existence: Imagination "is the Human Existence itself." What happens in the fallen man is the war of "Abstract Philosophy," which is the single vision of the Urizenic state but not utterly unredeemable, against Imagination. This is the attempt by the tyrant to enslave man forever, to discourage man from seeking a way out of his slavery. But man always has this underground of potential imagination, which is a warning to Urizen that his self-created tyranny is always in danger of being overthrown.

The state of Los is art, which is man's awareness, consciousness, of himself, of reality: hence tyrants' hatred of art. Art is a threat to tyrants because tyrants rule only by mystification and art is self-awareness and social awareness. Art is the "Destruction of Tyrannies or Bad Governments" and if Art is removed from a society or an individual liberty "is No More" (Anno. to Reynolds: 445) or Israel is redeliverd to Egypt, and Art redelivered to "Nature & Imitation" (The Laocoon:776). Art is "the Tree of Life," the true fountain from which Christianity springs eternal (The Laocoon:777). Art is the expression of man's freed libido or energy, and the Urizenic effort to imprison art must ultimately fail.

Los as the state of art is the line and outline of Blake and other inspired artists' "portable frescos" (see "The Invention of a Portable Fresco": 560). To "Leave out this line," or to leave out Los, is to "leave out life itself; [and] all is chaos again, and the line of the almighty must be drawn out upon it before man or beast can exist" (DC XV:585). Without Los, man's Imagination, there is no Human Existence. As such Los is essentially the meaning and action of Blake's myth. He is both the hero of the myth and the myth itself, and it is in his successful task of breaking down the selfhood shells which imprison man individually and socially that man will be saved from the tyrant's abstract codes. As the guiding light of all artists who seek to promote "exuberant" art, Los is cast in the rôle of the Holy Spirit, who, according to the Old Testament prophets, would be the guiding light of the Church of Christ in this age. He is "Elijah," "the Spirit of Prophecy":

> Conjuring him by the Highest that he should Watch over them
> Till Jesus shall appear; & they gave their power to Los
> Naming him the Spirit of Prophecy, calling him Elijah.
>
> (J 44:674)

It is Los, then (as the Pilgrim in the frontispiece illustration to Jerusalem does), who must search inside Albion's dark bosom to find the Identity, the Human Form Divine, a task which is continual and never ending and which truly leads Los to being a "Pilgrim of Eternity":[9]

> Fearing that Albion should turn his back against the Divine Vision,
> Los took his globe of fire to search the interiors of Albion's
> Bosom, in all the terrors of friendship entering the caves
> Of despair & death to search the tempters out, walking among
> Albion's rocks & precipices, caves of solitude & dark despair,
> And saw every Minute Particular of Albion degraded & murder'd.
>
> (J 31:656)

He is the mental traveller who moves in and out of Eternity and in whose halls of art are to be found everything that can happen to man during his lifetime "wrought with wondrous Art":

> All things acted on Earth are seen in the bright Sculptures of
> Los's Halls, & every Age renews its power from these Works
> With every pathetic story possible to happen from Hate or
> Wayward Love; & every sorrow & distress is carved here,
> Every Affinity of Parents, Marriages & Frienships are here
> In all their various combinations wrought with wondrous Art,
> All that can happen to Man in his pilgrimage of seventy years.
>
> (J 16:638)

Los has to make the eternal pilgrimage in and through man for man's sake in order to bring man to himself, to make man conscious of the truth which is deeply embedded in his interior darkness:

> Trembling I sit day and night, my friends are astonish'd at me,
> Yet they forgive my wanderings. I rest not from my great task!
> To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the immortal Eyes
> Of Man inwards into the Worlds of Thought, into Eternity
> Ever expanding in the Bosom of God, the Human Imagination.
>
> (J 5:623)

While the other zoas in their one-faceted, fallen, and perverse states are unimaginative, hopeless, static figures of contradiction and abstraction, Los is literally "afoot with vision."[10] He is the fourfold "Vehicular Form of strong Urthona"(J 53:684), who "Eyed as the Peacock" (J 98:745) can see the hopelessness of Albion's fallen condition and thus he is continually hammering on his anvils, the selfhood shells. Here Los is doing it both in the sense of Blake as blacksmith shaping his work, and the artist continually forming, reforming, and transforming the errors of the individual and society and creating truth.

Los is essentially vital, an energizer. He is the creator of mental forms who strives against Urizen's system to deliver both man and

Urizen from the deadly, consuming furnace of abstraction and to make both man and Urizen living forms again through which regeneration can be effected. Los must lead man out of the slough of despond, away from feeling sorry for himself, and make man recognize that it is only because he is weak enough to restrain his desire that the "restrainer or reason usurps his place & governs the unwilling" (MHH 5-6:149). Los must teach man the proverbs from hell, which is true energy, that "The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom" (MHH 7:150), and in the Imaginative existence, which is the true contrary world of Prolific and Devourer, that "You never know what is enough unless you know what is more than enough" (MHH9:152). Imaginative existence knows no bounds, it is the Urizenic abstraction that wants to bind it. But not only does Los rebuild the abstract forms of man , that is, rebuild the abstract forms of cruelty, jealousy, terror, and secrecy to become mercy, pity, love, and peace , he builds the language of art all over again so that Albion's inarticulateness, which comes with the Fall, can vanish and he be understood as wanting to be free of his domination by Urizen: "Los built the stubborn structure of the Language, acting against/ Albion's melancholy, who must else have been a Dumb despair" (J 40:668). One of his major tasks as a Poet is that of creating new forms of communication (as Blake the Painter does in his drawings and Blake the engraver does in his unusual manner of engraving his own plates) in a society where language and symbol can be expressed in one-foldness only. Hence he is constantly at work rebuilding the language, energizing his symbols so that they can take on a variety of meanings in oneness, so that man can stand on all four sides of a symbol at the same time. This is also why, as will be shown later, much of Blake's poetry is written from a contrary standpoint, a dynamic paradox which raises mere, conventional speech from the plane of deadening cliché to a "visionary form dramatic." The Poet's task is to concretize, to particularize, to break down the stubborn aspects of the language, to bring back dignity and life to the "degraded & murder'd " "Minute Particular[s]" of Albion. This is the reason, then, that Los takes everything to his furnace where he melts down Error and reshapes the language, the thought of man, and reveals the lineaments or truth, so that man can become open again to messages of love, hope, and regeneration as it was and will be again in Eden:

> When in Eternity Man converses with Man, they enter
> Into each other's Bosom (which are Universes of delight)
> In mutual interchange....
>
> (J 88:733)

It is left to Los, the spirit of art in each age, to lay the foundation of Golgonooza, thus preparing an abode for Jesus Christ, the greatest artist of all ages. This is the reason why he persuades Albion to turn back to the Divine Vision (J 35: 656-57). Los builds Golgonooza out of Golgotha, turning time into eternity. As the Spirit, the "Real" "Male" time that Blake refers to in A Vision of the Last Judgment (91:614), he is timeless like Jesus. He is the all-seeing, all-knowing Bard of Pastpresentfuture,[11] who makes particulars permanent. Golgonooza "is nam'd Art & Manufacture by mortal men" (M 24:509). It is "the spiritual Four-fold London" (M 6: 485), and it is here where Los transforms the flesh to word. Now he is truly the spokesman of Christ that Albion, recognizing the regenerative work of Los, can indeed associate Jesus with "the likeness & similitude of Los my Friend" (J 96: 743). Golgonooza, as the symbolic projection of the artistic organization, is the basis of all possible organizations of the fallen world, while the system of reflected shadow worlds reveals Golgonooza to be a visionary response to the imagination-usurping structure of Ulro systems. Golgonooza is the source of life in Generation, for it is symbolically prior to all activities on the earth and as such embodies the archetypal energy which makes fallen activity possible. Because Golgonooza contains the archetypes of all human activity, it is the link by which the Vegetable Earth is a shadow of Eternity. Further, because it contains these dynamic principles of action (Eden) in a permanent or static form (Beulah), Golgonooza is a redemptive reconstruction of the shape of Eternity and allows real activity in permanent form to be transferred to the fallen world. In other words, Golgonooza is an embodiment of fallen activity from an Eternal point of view. By linking the fallen and eternal worlds, Golgonooza has a redemptive function: it makes Generation possible, and through Generation, "regeneration" is possible ("O holy Generation, Image of regeneration," J 7:626). Into the dead world of Ulro the visionary poetic power(Los) infuses life and motion through the internal archetypal energy of Golgonooza.

Golgonooza serves as a bastion against the tyranny of Urizen: "Los builds the Walls of Golgonooza against the stirring battle" (FZ 8:343). Although the artist finds here a place of refuge, it is not an escapist refuge, because it is surrounded by death and extinction: "Around Golgonooza lies the land of death eternal, a Land/Of pain and misery and despair and ever brooding melancholy" (J 13:633). In the artist, this is the attempt by the spectrous power to lead him away from creating life or art, art being the struggle within the individual and within society between Los and the Spectre. The Spectre is "the Reasoning Power in Man" and in the artist, "a false body," "an Incrustation" over man and the artist's "Immortal/Spirit, a Selfhood which must be put off & annihilated alway[s]" (M 40:533). Energy takes its own shapes: forms cannot be imposed upon it from without. The attempt to impose static form results only in confusion. The Spectre is, as Damon puts it, "a machine which has lost its control and is running wild,"[12] because reason is static. The dynamic, which is reality, is unity conquering division, but the static is division growing out of spectrous attempts to enforce unity. In a way, machines always run wild, for they are the insatiable lust of man divided from himself, as the Spectre himself admits to Enitharmon:

> "Thou knowest that the Spectre is in Every Man insane, brutish,
> Deform'd, that I am thus a ravening devouring lust continually
> Craving & devouring."
>
> (FZ 7:327)

The Spectre symbolizes distortion of the values of life. It is, in the words of Margoliouth, "the unsouled physical appearance,... a shadow distorted into a semblance of solidity, of something real."[13]

But truth is obtained only through the defeat of error, and, paradoxically, the Spectre is necessary for this achievement. There must be a Spectre in order that a Spectre may be overcome. Spectrous aggressive mechanical attempts to unify produce division. But unity conquers division when error is recognized and cast off. In Los, the artist, the spectre's presence is inevitable and necessary so as to provide the poet with a sense of perspective both of passing time and of the critical necessity of regeneration. "In a poet," says Frye," the Spectre of Urthona is what is usually called the 'man' in him, the identity that grapples directly with nature and gets along in the world, that earns a living and meets other people and supports a family and acquires opinions." Frye moreover says that the Spectre of Urthona provides the poet with a sense of "pride, self-respect and personal ambition without which no genius could function."[14] The poet or the imaginative man needs the Spectre to cope with the many whims of nature. The Spectre, in this sense, serves as man's will or resolution to face the many responsibilities which are forced daily on man. The artist's will, of course, is that man be free. Yet the artist must face society's struggle with the selfish will, with selfish fear, for the artist is society. That is, the regeneration of society will be its struggle with the selfish will; will be its becoming its true self, the artist.

The will is of course inclined rather towards gratification of the self than towards self-sacrifice. It is this will of Los that refuses to accept the Biblical precept: "Except a corn of wheat fall in the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit" (John 12:24). Instead, the will would rather accept the teachings of the pebble, because it is vindictive and selfish:

> Love seeketh only Self to please,
> To bind another to Its delight,
> Joys in another's loss of ease,
> And builds a Hell in Heaven's despite.

(SE:211)

Logic dictates that the Spectre of Urthona serve the ends of Urizen, because the will is instrumental to an imagination identical with an organic development proceeding toward death. But within the bosom of man the death-wish is not very strong; man's imagination pulls him instead to search for that which is permanent and undying. Therefore the Spectre must necessarily confront the imagination and victory for either side determines the true shape of man. The imagination must bring the will under its control so that it can proceed with its task of rebuilding misshapen man. On the other hand, the Selfhood side of man will contend to bring the will under its control. Los cannot function, in this world where all imagination is inseparably attached to personal interests, without the Spectre of Urthona. The artist, to bring about art, needs to struggle with the Spectre so as to cast out the selfish error which embraces man. The Spectre is then a raving, restless and irresponsible force that would be as ready to "invent swords as plowshares, as quick in finding out gunpowder as stained glass, as ingenious in making instruments of torture as instruments of music."[15] The spectre is blind will-force that will serve Los or Urizen with the same energy. As the servant of Urizen, the spectre's main task is to turn all his inventions into machines of war. But when the spectre is controlled by imagination, he "is the obedient demon who brings his master Los the fire and metals and other physical needs of culture, and brings the artist his technical skill."[16] Now the spectre provides "spaces" of liberation:

> Thus they contended among the Furnaces with growns & tears,
> Groaning the Spectre heav'd the bellows, obeying Los's frowns,
> Till the Spaces of Erin were perfected in the furnaces
> Of affliction....
>
> (J 9:628)

Human destiny is at stake. Control of the Spectre of Urthona by either the warrior forces of Urizen or the imaginative ends of Los will determine whether mankind continues to languish in the "circle of destiny" or begins to make a breakthrough. It is not until the final phases of Jerusalem that the Spectre grudgingly accepts his role as a vital force in the regenerative work of Los, and that the Last Judgment comes about.

For some time, however, Los in Blake's myth, just like Milton, is unregenerate, rather obeying the dictates of the spectre than commanding it. Now Los is, as Frye puts it, the "primitive visionary, a kind of glorified medicine man with the random and haphazard vision of 'possession' instead of the deliberate craftmanship of art."[17] In this guise Los is unable to direct the task of regenerating man. Hence not only does he bind Orc but he submits temporarily, in his terrible dance of transformation, to the rigours of history.

> In terrors Los shrank from his task; his great hammer
> Fell from his hand, his fires hid their strong limbs in smoke;
> For with noises ruinous, hurtlings & clashings & groans,
> The immortal endur'd, tho' bound in a deadly sleep.
> Pale terror siezed the Eyes of Los as he beat round
> The hurtling demon; terrified at the shapes
> Enslav'd humanity put on, he became what he beheld:
> He became what he was doing: he was himself transform'd.
>
> (FZ 4:304-5)

Milton, whom Blake considers to be the greatest poet that ever lived, reaches a crisis similar to that of Los in his battle with his Spectre. Milton had been a powerful figure in his time making his power felt both politically and artistically. However, he supported Cromwell's scheme for making England moral by foce of armed law. This scheme, of course, led to bloody civil strife.[18] For Blake, Milton the Puritan was the father of Deism: when a theocracy can legislate against joy and energy then the ultimate tyranny, the complete suppression of joy and energy by a secular state founded on reason and nature, is only one step away. Blake also sees Milton as having erred in his separation of the divine attributes into the wrath of the Father and the mercy of the Son, and "In emphasizing divine judgment and vengeance, Milton had also confused the qualities of Satan and Jesus, which, in turn, led him to confuse the details of the war in Heaven and the expulsion of the reprobate angels."[19] Therefore Milton was not only the greatest man of his time, he was also the greatest danger of a time which was essentially dangerous. Therefore, Blake recreates the Miltonic vision of Paradise Lost which treats "the Father [as] Destiny," "the Son [as] a Ratio of the five senses," and "the Holy-ghost [as] Vacuum" (MHH 5-6:150). He makes Milton the "true Poet" of the Devils' party, energy, that he really is, by exposing his errors. In clarifying and purging and recreating the imagination of Milton, Blake sees Los's or any true artist's imagination undergoing the same kind of treatment. Blake's task is to remove the spectrous veil which shrouds Milton and Los in the state of Los, the spectrous veil being the natural part of Milton and Los which has compromised with the forces of Urizen. Once this has been done, the imagination is increasingly more accurate and complete and fallen man's eyes can be opened to what exists and every attempt will be made to "Foresee & Avoid/The terrors of Creation & Redemption & Judgment...(J 92:739). The artist in the state of Los must lead man inward into Eternity, into fourfoldness, into liberty, into art. He cannot shirk his responsibility, and even though despair may visit him and sometimes appear to overwhelm him, Los must endure.

3

Luvah is the face of man that is most often associated with man's loins, his passions, just as Urizen is associated with man's reason, Tharmas with man's heart, bosom, and body, and Los with the Imagination. Luvah's compass point is the East, and it was the East which, according to Ezekiel, "taught the first principles of human perception"(MHH 12-13:153). The East is void now since the confusing battles with Urizen and Urizen's reduction of all perception to the ratio of single vision. In the unfallen world Luvah is referred to as the "Prince of Love" (FZ 4:301), a name which adds credence to the belief that Luvah's name is a mutation of "lover." He is the cupbearer of the Eternals (FZ 5:311), the "gentlest mildest Zoa" (J 24:648) who serves the Eternals with wine of delight. But when Urizen begins to fear that Eternity is not eternal, Luvah is the first zoa to take advantage of this confusion by seizing the "car of intellect" (until now Urizen's possession)and setting himself up as the leader of man. Urizen, the true sun in Eternity, the golden head and spiritual eye of man, by doubting his power loses his authority. Therefore, in the fallen world the sun becomes part of the dying and reviving rhythm of Generation, which is the region that Luvah controls. Urizen's loss of the conscious control of the sun is similar to Tharmas's loss of the ability to create consciously in Beulah. Just as the process of birth becomes haphazard and automatic once it leaves Beulah, so the Sun loses its controlling force and wanders around in automatic movements. The Sun is also man's eye, which sees chaos instead of variety in oneness. Now the eye is not the circumference of the Imagination, it concentrates man(E 10:241) and is the miser's delight (VLJ 92-95:617). What was once a spiritual eye that could see "an Inumerable company of the Heavenly host," is now the tyrant's myopic, false eye that sees distinctions only to punish them.

The state of Luvah embraces all the paradoxical forms of emotion: not only is Luvah the state that seeks to replace the state of Urizen by the tyranny of war and nature, but he is also the revolutionary Orc, who desires to generate new forms by destroying the old ones, and a saviour-revolutionary Christ, who creates the possibility of regeneration by assuming Luvah's robes and forgiving man's wrongdoing. In fact, says Percival, Luvah "runs a course from the self-sacrificial love of Eden to the hatred and cruelty and vengeance which distinguish the religions of the fallen world."[20] In the fallen world, one of the things represented by the division between Luvah and Urizen is the divison between emotion and reason. To this extent, Luvah is the emotional tyrant; that is, he opposes any solutions of man's problems by reason, and is thus similar to Urizen, who resolves all problems through "the Vegetated Mortal Eye's perverted & single vision" (J 53:684). Both are at war with Albion's imagination, which is the synthesis of all the opposites rather than the Cloven Fiction. Luvah seeks the same totalitarian mastery over Albion that Urizen does, and, in fact, as Frye points out, "Luvah and Urizen represent respectively the active and passive forms of 'jealousy.' Luvah stands for war, tyranny and the state of nature; Urizen for religion, mystery and reason."[21] The Luvah-Urizen confrontation is not bent on restoring the unity of Eden. This is a spectrous battle for power and control (the dialogue between Luvah and Urizen in the first night of The Four Zoas is filled with naked threats of power) and the repression of the two Contraries with which everything is clothed. Tyrants of the more malevolent and consciously hypocritical kind, as opposed to those who rather deceive themselves than others, are fully aware that "Without Contraries [there] is no progression" (MHH 3:149), no hope of a creative existence which will recognize their false hold on man. Hence they will go to war to ensure the suppression of contraries which lead man to progression or the discovery of error. Thus Luvah, while he engages in a battle for power with Urizen, is as much a "warring abstraction," a spectrous ratio as Urizen without imagination, and Albion's "Divine Humanity" is negated either way. But emotion, in its many forms of love and anger, can be directed by man's prophetic desire to attack the hard selfhood-shell of the tyrant and reveal to man the error that this shell is. Man must die for his brother a little every day (J 96:743), that is, he must show love and forgive his brother's wrongdoing before tyranny can be destroyed. Emotion without Imagination is hollow and is continously repressed by institutions that preach moral virtue. But when emotion becomes an essential part of the prophet's creation, then emotion will help man to generate new forms that will oppose the tyrant.

Luvah in his three phases is a source of constant worry and fear for the tyrant, who is used to classifying man according to his own static notions. Therefore the tyrant is unable to repress man's emotions forever, he is faced with man's revolt, which is really the first phase of Luvah in his rôle of generating new forms. When Luvah opposes Urizen for control over man, he is "concentrating" man in a tyranny which is distinguished from Urizen's only by the fact that it is emotion and not reason dominating man. But Luvah as Orc is protesting tyranny and is promising the destruction of mental and physical conditions which are binding man and preventing him from exposing error, the cause of his enslavement. Periodically, man, maddened by the restraints imposed on him by the "lawful" institutions of the tyrant, institutions which claim to support art, freedom, but who in reality are a pretense of art to imprison man in the ratio of error, bursts forth in revolt, Orc, the deathless phenomenon. "Orc," as Rose points out, "is the state of thwarted creativity,"[22] the state which is born out of severe repression. The state of revolution that he represents is an act of Imagination, a convulsive lunge forward of the Imagination, and he is thus "the return of the dawn and the spring and all the human analogies of their return: the continuous arrival of new life, the renewed sexual and reproductive power which that brings, and the periodic overthrow of social tyranny."[23] Man in the state of Orc does not necessarily always overthrow the state of tyranny, but what is more important is that the state of Orc exists always where art or freedom is suppressed and is thus a constant source of fear to tyrants. "Orc," says Rose, "is an eternal form of the imagination, (a psychological state) and Blake, in describing Orc, develops a structure of images present in all literature and all cultures."[24] Hence Orc has been associated with the Titans (as Blake himself does in DCV:578) and has been seen as Prometheus, Adonis, Hyperion, Typhon, Eros , Fuzon, Esau, Absalom, and Samson to name only a few.

It is Orc's ambiguousness which is striking in the development of his personality. There is both an ironic and a real Orc which frequents Blake's myth. In the first six Orc cycles of history, Orc is "ironic." This is the Orc that permits his desire to be restrained and he is thus a victim of the cunning and tame minds which have power to resist energy. In this rôle Orc is a blind, emotional force, which gives off "heat but not light," and when his emotion is baffled by the tyrant's cunning, as it is in the first six cycles, he becomes tame and rests resignedly under the tyrant's tree of crucifixion. When Orc defeats Urizen, as he periodically does, because he is not informed by Imagination he soon falls into the same spectrous rhythm as Urizen until finally he becomes another Urizen which has to be challenged by a new Orc force. This history of Orc is noticeable in Blake's work as early as Poetical Sketches (11-12) where the oppressed children of Norway call upon Gordred to overthrow Gwin , the harsh tyrant. The Songs of Experience contain many images of revolt: the Earth, in "Earth's Answer" (SE 211), longs to be set free:

"Break this heavy chain
"That does freeze my bones around.
"Selfish! vain!
"Eternal bane!
"That free Love with bondage bound."

and the "Tyger" gives off ominous signs that hypocrisy will soon be consumed by his flames. The real confrontation in the seventh cycle of history occurs in America, where revolt challenges the ancient laws and systems of the Kings and priests which have enslaved man for so long. Orc is the "Intense," "Naked," "Human fire," which has come to destroy the "murky atmosphere" (A 4:197) that the tyrants have controlled since the Fall of man. But the Orc of America has already shed his ironical garb and becomes the real Orc-Los spirit of regeneration in the European cycle of history.

Orc in his ironic state "is always unripe. He sets before his time, and remains a son symbol as well as a sun symbol."[25] In his unripe state he is a non-vehicular Zoa and he is a contradictory force in the same way as Urizen is. He is now constantly at war with Urizen. He and Urizen are in fact mechanical forces that are bound to the cyclical wheel of warfare and Orc is often seen as a serpent. Their history being one where they call each other names and attempts are made to destroy one another. In his ironic guise, Orc is merely revolt as dissatisfaction and frustration and is thus associated with generation not regeneration, signifying that the Orc cycles will continue unabated. It is this Orc in his ironic state that is reduced to a spectrous ratio or defined by Urizen, and for Blake this is an indication that mere dissatisfaction and destruction of the status quo is not enough; it does not lead man out of the selfhood shell, it merely gives him a taste of what freedom might be but it does not ensure the existence of freedom, art. "Protest," says Rose, "must create apocalypse or be 'unable to do other than repeat the same dull round over again,' that is, be Orc defined by Urizen."[26] Revolt that is not informed by Imagination tends to be chaotic and is manoeuvered easily by those who command the state of revolt. These are the weak men that the outraged man protests about: the counterrevolutionary force, "the sneaking serpent" that walks in "mild humility" (MHH 2:149). These powerful weak men refuse to burn out the old circumference, the old ratio or body or social order of man. Instead, by guile and design they tame the revolutionaries (the true Orcs) and turn them into reactionary Urizenic forms.

The state of Orc is necessary in a world of tyranny; without it there will be no challenge to the tyrant and error may be perpetuated continuously. The state of Orc is the glimmer of hope in an otherwise bleak existence of terror and domination. Its presence is a constant warning to the tyrant that man is not dead to his existence. It is when this state is directed by Los that regeneration occurs. Until then, protest turns out to be a finite instrument which can be controlled by the tyrant:

> Thought chang'd the infinite to a serpent, that which pitieth
> To a devouring flame; and man fled from its face and hid
> In forests of night: then all the eternal forests were divided
> Into earths rolling in circles of space, that like an ocean rush'd
> And overwhelmed all except this finite wall of flesh.
> Then was the serpent temple form'd,image of infinite
> Shut up in finite revolutions, and man became an Angel,
> Heaven a mighty circle turning,God a tyrant crown'd.
>
> (E 10:241)

Though Orc is "thought-creating" (SL 6:247)he represents "unwise or unripe activity which man leaves behind as he ages into the state of the sterile and thought-defeating passivity-Urizen; desire becomes reason."[27] It is Los who must turn Orc into his real form, the desire that is unrestrained and that can never be restrained. It is Los who must put art in the place of nature. He must put art in the breast of man. Orc must be married to Los. Orc is only a necessary beginning and his "ceaseless rage" for "the thrilling joys of sense" (FZ 5:308) will be satisified only in the terms of Albion's unfallen body. Man must reach the centrality of Los, Albion's creative imagination.

The great image of renovative action in *Jerusalem* is the human form of Los, labouring at his forge and constantly confronting the limits of his senses. Orc alone cannot supply all the opposition to the forces which have prevented ~~Albion's body~~ from being restored to its Edenic form. Orc must be reorganized as Orc-Los, as is Shelley's Prometheus, and as they are in the Voice of the devil in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. They have to become the "two contrary states of the soul." The Orc cycles, then, in their first six movements fail because they are a failed marriage of contraries between Orc and Los. Los has to teach Orc in the seventh historical cycle, the epoch of Jesus, that the real war is the mental fight between the visionaries and the champions of tyranny, and that apocalypse is not anymore a mass movement only, but that it occurs within the minds of the prophets, the outcasts who are the true leaders of the societies which despise them. And in his furnace he has to transform the "clearly sexual Rod of Fire to effect a transcendent form: man's 'feet become like brass,/His knees and thighs like silver, & his breast and head like gold.'"[28]

When Orc is crucified on Urizen's tree of mystery (as he is in the first six Orc cycles), all that Luvah stands for seems to have been eliminated. But, providentially, the state of Luvah cannot be eradicated. The descent of Christ in Luvah's robes prevents Luvah's total extinction. Jesus revives (as all prophets must) the ancient wisdom: the wisdom that teaches man that every mental form is essential for his regeneration, that the state of Luvah is necessary for man's existence. Jesus is the Divine Imagination that descends not to seek vengeance on the tyrants, but to expose the error of the tyrants which dominate man so totally. Jesus enters the bosom of man so as to lead the way for humanity out of the State Satan, the Selfhood, the institutionalization of judgmental attitudes in personal and social relations. This state contains human beings though it is not human: releasing man from it is showing that it is not human, that individuals and states are not identical. Christ takes on the robes of Luvah and transforms man's Selfhood into regenerative selflessness. Christ descends so as to enable man to commune with the Divine Imagination, the God that exists in man (MHH 15:155). The qualities of Mercy, Pity, and Peace are expressions of human, which is to say divine, love.

The tyrant attempts to destroy Christ's work through a false religion and morality which creates a false reality, a static one. Hence Blake remarks that the teachings of Christ have been perverted and deformed by "the Seven Angels of the Seven Churches in Asia, Antichrist Science" (Laocoon:777). The Church tries to reduce the creativeness of Christ's teaching to a religion and entombs the Everlasting Gospel, the doctrine of the Contraries, in dogma and "outward ceremony" (Laocoon:776). Moreover, the Church becomes the guardian of Druidic morality. Druidic morality opposes Christ's teaching of forgiveness of sins and liberty to man and the creation of temporary states of error through which man can pass, leaving error behind, instead of being accused of sin.

Christ's selfless response to Urizen's selfish laws comes in the form of self-sacrifice on the hill of Golgotha. His death is not an atonement for man's sin, but the final moment of glory when the Selfhood, the "false Body" which is "an Incrustation over man's Immortal spirit," is put away. This false body, which is the "False Tongue" (J 14:634), is Error, is the identification of individuals with states, is the static, that is, oppressive, society. It is by stripping away this false body that man can see again and it is in this act of self-sacrifice that brotherhood can be restored:

"Wouldest thou love one who never died
For thee, or ever die for one who had not died for thee?
And if God dieth not for Man & giveth not himself
Eternally for Man, Man could not exist; for Man is Love
As God is Love; every kindness to another is a little Death
In the Divine Image, nor can Man exist but by Brotherhood."

(J 96:743)

Christ's death represents the stripping away of the husk which surrounds spiritual life. Christ comes to purify the state of Luvah, to replace the quality of domination by Luvah and the fire without heat of Orc by Mercy, Pity, Peace, and Love. Now it becomes possible for Los to enter the "door of death," confident that man's soul can be resurrected:

> Half Friendship is the bitterest Enmity, said Los
> As he enter'd the Door of Death for Albion's sake Inspired.
> The long sufferings of God are not for ever: there is a Judgment.
>
> (J 1:620)

4

Tharmas is the face of Albion that is described not only as Albion's body or senses, but is referred to as the "Parent Power," the shepherd of "flocks," the "tongue" of man, and the"Demon of the Waters" (M 18:499). In Eternity, Tharmas is the androgynous body, the symbol of united man. He is the eternal shepherd who guards the "Minute Particulars of Life" (J 88:734). Within this symbol of unity, Blake's belief that "everything that lives is holy" finds its true meaning. In containing "everything" within his body, Tharmas comes close to imitating the rôle that Albion plays in the myth. But whereas Tharmas is the all-inclusive circumference, Albion stands at the centre of all. Albion exists, redeemed or redeemable, from Eden to Ulro, whereas Tharmas begins in Beulah, which is at the circumference of Eden. In Ulro Tharmas becomes a perversion of himself, the raging demon of the encircling sea.

In Beulah, Tharmas is the unfallen body of man and is identifiable with Beulah, the garden of Eden, which is created, mercifully, as a place of repose for the eternals. That is, the body of man exists only as an illusion in the Eternal world because every action of man is mental. Beulah exists in relation to Eden in the same way as the body to the soul. But with the fall of Albion, Tharmas is transformed from the "mildest son of Heaven" to the raging "demon of the waters." The body now takes on an existence independent of the soul and through its "narrow caverns" it creates a myth of the body which attempts to destroy any reference to man's soul. Tharmas's division is the broken heart and the broken body of man, the war of Luvah and Urizen, as well as being the divisions within Luvah and within Urizen which cause them to war against each other. Tharmas's fall can be interpreted as the fall of Luvah and Urizen, and their fall as his, because the Zoas are all in one and one in all. Since Tharmas is the body, his fall into a divided, indecisive personality who cannot distinguish between "love & rage" (FZ 4:298) is the division of man into material or bodily contradiction; the corporeal war of Luvah and Urizen.

Once "the Starry Heavens are fled from the mighty limbs of Albion" (J 26:649), and the error of material object separate from mental subject appears, then time, history, the fallen world, must become a self-destroying materialistic error before it can end again and man be regenerated. Having fallen into a self-made restricted world of single vision, Urizen begins to preach the gospel of good and evil, separating the body of man from his soul and seeing all bodily activities as evil. Hence in Ulro man believes that he is split into two halves: soul and body, subject and object, play and work, and so forth. The primary danger to man now is that he will permit "deism" (the ultimate king-priest collusion to which the distinction between king and priest disappears; the myth which has the power to seem demythologized, the myth of reason and nature) to become the rationale of tyranny. The body, which is the true circumference of the Imagination and in Eternity was the window of the Imagination to the Eternals, now becomes a closed, finite entity whose narrowed senses bent reflect to man his delusions about himself. Divided in this way, Tharmas also becomes separated from his feminine self, Enion. Urizen further contributes to this state by his insistence on dominating the body of man as an inferior part of Albion, and Luvah smites it with boils. The body is now "embalm'd in moral laws" (J 80:722), and Tharmas becomes a multiple world; he becomes the raging sea of time and space.

The body of man is no longer the glorious circumference of the Imagination; it has become an external world, a miserly accretion, a mere husk. The tyrant is now able to circumscribe man's energies because he circumscribes man's perception of the human body by seeming to set around it bounds, a boundary of a static "external," "objective" world of "fact". To help man regenerate himself and thus bring about the Last Judgment, Los must "cut off & separate" the corporeal body of error so "that the Spiritual body may be Reveal'd" (FZ 8:348). Man shall return again to the "world of Imagination" after the "death of the Vegetated body" (VLJ 69-70:605), because "The Natural Body is an Obstruction to the Soul or Spiritual Body" (Anno. to Berkeley, 218:775).

The "Natural Body" is the temple of the tyrant from which he enslaves man. Therefore the stripping away of the natural body of revenge and perversion which occurs in Christ's crucifixion, is a demonstration to man that unless this occurs in himself he will continue to be a slave. Hence Los smashes the incrusted selfhood-shells from man so that he may once more recover his true body and his true circumference.

NOTES

I

[1] In chapter three of this dissertion there is a full discussion of the mythologists and some of their theories that were prevalent in Blake's time. This examination demonstrates that Blake probably knew and in his own peculiar way made use of some of their theories. Thus, for example, the reference to "King Edward the Third" where England is seen as the land of "Liberty" and from which Empire shall flow,might easily be bound up with the belief by the mythologists that Albion is England the actual geographical spot on which events of the very earliest antediluvian times had occurred: "All things Begin & End in Albion's Ancient Druid Rocky Shore" (J 27:649). Hungerford in *Shores of Darkness*, 47-48, points out that the mythologists Wilford, Bailly, and Carli had held the view "that England was the only surviving portion of the antediluvian continent, and that the earliest myths of the world, those dealing with antediluvian times, were therefore to be traced through their preservation in the earliest British legend." This belief then is a short step away from Blake's firm assertion that Albion was "the Parent of the Druids" (J 27:649) and his conversion of Abraham, Heber, Shem, and Noah into Druids.

But, again, as Hungerford (*Shores of Darkness*, 35-61) and Todd (*Tracks of Snow*, 33-55) show, there were other theories on Albion which in symbol and sometimes in meaning appear in Blake's work. Albion as the constellation which was described by Dupuis as the Atlas of the ancients, Bootes, is a particularly interesting aspect, Hungerford, 53-54, and Percival, Circle of Destiny, 145-161, claim that most of the physical movements in Blake's poems are in terms of the movement of the constellation Bootes. In particular, the rising and setting of the giant in the sky (M 39: 530-532). Indeed, says Hungerford, much of the imagery concerning Albion is appropriate to the idea that he is a giant figure written in the stars. It is in this guise that his spectre frowns over the nations, the Starry Heavens flee from his mighty limbs ("But now the Starry Heavens are fled from the mighty limbs of Albion," M6:486), and the symbolic Milton falls through Albion in his journey through the stars. The rocky couch upon which Blake describes Albion as lying, is the horizon over which the constellation is seen, and the risings and turnings of Albion are but the movements of the constellation. Two of the illustrations accompanying Jerusalem (plates fourteen and twenty-five) bear out this position very well. In plate fourteen, the half asleep, half awake Albion has on his left side a waxing moon with five stars, and on the right side there is one star and the globe of the earth with the continents dimly indicated. In plate twenty-five, the symbols of the universe, the stars, sun, and moon, are printed on his limbs.

Another interesting comparison(one which I refer to in Chapter three) is Blake's association of Albion and King Arthur. According to Blake's interpretation in "The Ancient Britons" (DCV: 577-8), Arthur promised to return from his "death or sleep." Albion, in Blake's myth, sleeps for six thousand years and awakens to bring about the spiritual triumph in Jerusalem. And Blake also says "The stories of Arthur are the acts of Albion...." But Albion in the same description is also referred to as "the Atlas of the Greeks, one of those Greeks called Titans," thus giving the impression that Blake was aware of the fact that Albion figured in the Greek myth of Hercules as the giant son of Poseidon who endeavoured to prevent Hercules passing the Rhone and who is later slain by Zeus. Moreover, Albion's name was used commonly by Greek and Roman writers as the name of Britain, and he is said to have subdued the ancient Samotheans and established himself as ruler, giving his name to the island. Finally, it is noticeable that there are resemblances in Blake's Albion with the Adam Kadmon of rabbinical tradition, and with some of the characters of Gnostic myths. Harold Fisch, in *Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in Seventeenth-Century Literature*, says that "Albion, his [Blake's] chief actor, is rather like the primordial man, or Adam Kadmon, of the Kabbalah, a mystical anthropos who includes in his limbs the whole universe both of time and eternity." Fisch also observes that Blake "got to know the Kabbalah through various intermediate and highly unreliable sources, such as the *Kabbala Denudata* of Knorr von Rasenroth... or the esoteric Rosicrucians."

[2] Rose, "'Mental Forms Creating': 'Fourfold Vision' and the Poet as Prophet in Blake's Designs and Verse," *JAAC*, 173.

[3] Ibid., 174. Rose's article demonstrates with drawings what exactly Blake means by fourfold vision: "When from an unfallen perspective, the perceptive organs see one, it is infinite vision. But when from an unfallen perspective within a fallen world, the perceptive organs see four, it does not mean that the perceptive organs need medical treatment but that they belong to a vision-

ary, the prophet-poet. He still sees one like everybody else, but now he is on all sidesof the object at once. He has, in a sense, broken the spatial and temporal barriers because he is in several places simultaneously." From this, them, Rose concludes that in Blake's art "a circle is a continous line," "there are circles within circles, that is, wheels within wheels," and that Blake as a visual and literary artist "sees things in terms of their visual dimensions." Ault, in Visionary Physics, 51, claims that Blake's use of the circle, line, and so on, which he points out are scientific terms of the Eighteenth century, is a dynamic response to Newton's Static universe. In chapter three, I have a lengthy discussion of the Urizenic and Newtonic compasses which are responsible for the creation of these self limiting drawings.

In the Facsimile to Jerusalem there are three illustrations showing Albion in a state of being both awake and asleep. The lower part of plate fourteen shows Albion at the water's edge with a guardian angel at his head and feet. This is clearly a providential occurence, preventing the sleeping Albion from falling into the world of utter materialism or death. Above him is a vision of Jerusalem floating in a cloud formed by six ocellated wings. A rainbow arches over them. Wicksteed, in William Blake's Jerusalem,140, observes that Albion is both asleep and awake. Albion is meant to be both asleep and yet looking at the figure of his nightmare dream. Moreover, his nightmare embraces all the continents, all of mankind, all of history. In plate nineteen, there is a similar illustration to plate fourteen. Again the giant Albion is lying supine with mourning figures at head and feet, but his head has fallen back on to the ground. The mourning figures are unaware that in a fallen existence Albion has to endure both his suffering and be prepared for his reawakening moment. In plate twenty-five, Albion has fallen on his knees with the symbols of the universe printed on his limbs.

[4] Rose, "Blake's Metaphorical States," BS, 18, identifies this as the state of Satan, "the state of those who have abctracted and worshipped their present condition and have therefore impeded their own vision." The poetry of this state "is rationalistic and parabolic allegory" and it "stands in contrast to Blake's 'Sublime Allegory.'"

[5] Newton, Mathematical Principles, 13. Law III states "To every action there is always opposed an equal reaction: or, the mutual actions of two bodies upon each other are always equal, and directed to contrary parts." Ault, in Visionary Physics, 43-44, observes that in Jerusalem (29:653), "Blake obliquely identifies the Reactor (Spectre) as Newton by virtue of the Reactor's formation of his 'Reaction into a Law/of Action'." "This," says Ault, "echoes Newton's Third Law....By particularising and inverting Newton's statement, Blake hints at the subversion and usurpation of the concept of 'action' in the Newtonian system and its ethical counterparts."

[6] Fisher, Valley of Vision, 95.

[7] Kierkegaard, "Either/Or," Anthology, ed. R. Bretall, 9.

[8] Ibid., 10.

[9] Rose, "Los, Pilgrim of Eternity," in Blake's Sublime Allegory, 92-93, says

that "This kind of self-exploration characterizes Milton and Jerusalem, because it is the poet's search for identity, the Human Form Divine. Los conducts that search in Albion. It is a continual and never-ending quest in the eternity and infinity of man." Just as the motif for Urizen in Blake's illustrations is that of Urizen bending over with his compasses to circumscribe the world (see discussion of "Ancient of Days" in chapter three), the favourite pose of Blake's Los seems to be the Pilgrim going on a mental journey to discover Truth. In chapter three, there is a detailed discussion of some of the illustrations where Los is a Pilgrim.

[10] This apt phrase of Whitman is cited by Rose, "The Spirit of the Bounding Line: Blake's Los," Criticism, 61. Rose also observes that: "Los steps through eternity in 'golden sandals' which by implication are talaria. While his feet, in Jerusalem, are also described as 'iron shot' on 'London Stone,' in Milton, he straps the 'Vegetable World' to his left foot 'As a bright sandal form'd immortal of precious stones & gold.' Earlier in the same poem he places that 'left sandal,' like a Zen master, 'on his head' as a 'Signal of solemn mourning.'"

[11] Blake in the "Introduction" to Songs of Experience (210) says that the all-knowing Bard sees "Present, Past, & Future." His intention here is obviously to demonstrate the Bard's ability to see with fourfold vision, a vision which surrounds the object on all sides and which does not create distinction in language, thought, and punctuation as the line above shows. Such a form is used to create understanding among dull readers. What Blake clearly wants to show, as far as form would lend itself, is the kind of combination which I show in the text and which breaks the spatial and

temporal barriers of language and thought.

[12] Damon, Blake Dictionary, 381.

[13] Margoliouth, William Blake, 116.

[14] Frye, Fearful Symmetry, 292-293.

[15] Ibid., 295.

[16] ibid., 294.

[17] ibid., 298.

[18] Taylor, "Providence and the Moment in Blake's Milton," BS, 44, says that "The younger John Milton had shared with a good many of his enthusiastic contemporaries a belief that the puritan revolution could establish the millennium in their own time." But Taylor points out that by the time Milton wrote the introduction to Book IX (31-32) of Paradise Lost, he disavowed "the subject of epic poetry what Blake was to call 'Corporeal War' in favor of 'the better fortitude Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom'."

[19] Taylor, "A Reading of Blake's Milton," BS, 208. Taylor observes, as well, that Milton's actions had led him to wrongly separating "creation into blissful paradise and a dungeon of torment." But, says Taylor, "Blake's version is that Satan had cast himself out by condemning others and that paradise was created originally to protect Satan from the consequences of his own wrath; only through the course of history has paradise become the Hell that Milton had depicted."

[20] Percival, *Circle of Destiny*, 29-30. Percival fails to mention, however, that Luvah becomes an essential agent of the apocalypse once his anger in the form of Orc is marshalled behind man's prophetic insight into what must be done truly to rid man of tyranny.

[21] Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, 287.

[22] Rose, "Good-bye to Orc and All That," *BS*, 148, says that "Orc is the state of thwarted creativity, innocent wisdom confronted by experience and disappointment which encourages an ironic and satiric vision threatening to harden into a permanent condition." "But thwarted creativity," says Rose, "is precisely what art depends upon in its struggle with nature and the abstract or social norms and general law."

[23] Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, 207. Frye's brilliant reading of Orc as a mythopoeic figure in Blake and many other writers' myths and his establishment of the "Orc cycle" has influenced much of Blake criticism. However, as observed particularly in Erdman's "*America*: New Expanses," *Visionary Forms Dramatic*, 92-114, and Rose's "Goodbye to Orc and All That," *BS*, 135-151, Blake criticism is becoming more wary of accepting all the details of the "Orc cycle" that Frye claims. This point receives fuller attention in my later discussion of the European cycle of history where I disagree with Frye's reading.

[24] Rose, "Good-bye to Orc and All That," *BS*, 138.

[25] Ibid., 138.

[26] Ibid., 151.

[27] ibid., 140-141.

[28] Quasha, "Orc as a Fiery Paradigm of Poetic Torsion," Visionary Forms Dramatic, 263-284.

II

THE FOUR VISIONARY KINGDOMS

Fourfold the Sons of Los in their divisions, and fourfold
The great City of Golgonooza: fourfold toward the north,
And toward the south fourfold, & fourfold toward the east & west,
Each within other toward the four points: that toward
Eden, and that toward the World of Generation,
And that toward Beulah, and that toward Ulro.
Ulro is the space of the terrible starry wheels of Albion's sons,
But that toward Eden is walled up till time of renovation,
Yet it is perfect in its building, ornaments & perfection.

(J 12:632)

The four visionary worlds are Eden, the perfect state which man has lost through selfishness and greed; Beulah, the "soft, Moony Universe" (FZ 1:266) where the Fall and division of Albion occurs; Ulro, the nadir of man's fall; and Generation the world as it is fallen but potentially regenerate through the exposure of historical Error to be what it is. Not only is the Eternal Man fourfold but history, too, containing both the Eternal Man or World and historical Error, the Fallen Man or World, is fourfold. The reason why the fourfold structure of Albion, as the four zoas, Urizen, Urthona, Luvah, and Tharmas, and the fourfold structure of the visionary world, as Eden, Beulah, Ulro, and Generation, are identical, although Ulro and Generation are the fallen or historical world, is that history is only one thing, in a world which contains many things, each with its own set of contrary qualities. History has its own struggle with negation, in which truth comes to be because it negates error. The historical struggle is against the Fall, the error that Albion is divided, as indeed he is so long as he thinks he is. The prophet, the man of imagination, recognizes the error for what it is: the division or self-contradiction or absurdity or non-existence of a world which can exist only for the deluded, the insane fallen man, to communicate with whom the prophet must become insane and sane at the same time. The letter to Butts (2 October 1800: 804-805) negates the historical negation, fallen man, and asserts the identity of all things in Albion:

> Saying: Each grain of Sand,
> Every Stone on the Land,
> Each rock & each hill,
> Each fountain & rill,
> Each herb & each tree,
> Mountain, hill, earth & sea,
> Cloud, Meteor & Star,
> Are Men Seen Afar.

Albion is the fourfold man; within him is to be found every form of man, eternal and historical. Historical man is error becoming truth in society, the Last Judgment passing over society. Twofold man, truth and error, is the two contraries, the paradisical worlds, Eden and Beulah, a masculine world of creative energy and a feminine world of rational repose. The reason why contraries are equally true in Beulah (M 30:518) is that every establishment of a new truth requires a rational repose or new error. Now twofold man, Eden and Beulah, is also fourfold, Eden, Beulah, Generation, and Ulro, because history is one of the errors whose exposure becomes truth: because fallen society is one of the divisions out of which grow unities. Indeed, almost all of the action in Blake's poetry occurs in Generation and Ulro, since it is to man in Generation and Ulro that the prophet must speak, even though what he must say to him is that Generation and Ulro do not exist. The prophetic struggle against history is the struggle to destroy its false self, to force it to reveal its true self: to force social error to reveal itself that justice may be restored.

The four visionary Kingdoms are complex, for they represent processes of change; that is, though they contain within themselves the possibility of man's fall, they also contain, mercifully, the potential for regeneration. Therefore negative images have positive aspects and vice versa. It is a matter of clarification. The "wheels," "cycles," and "circles" which so often have negative rôles in the myth can be employed in a positive way leading to regeneration. Hence "looms of love" counteract Locke's "looms of deceit" (J 56:688); Los creates " a World of Generation from the World of Death" (J 58:690); the "circle of Destiny" as error is counteracted by the "circle of Destiny" in its ascending, regenerative phase where the circle is a continuous line; and the tyrannic, Urizenic "wheel without wheel" is counteracted by the regenerative "wheel within wheel" (J 15:636) of Ezekiel's vision.[1] And the cycles, as has been observed in the Orc cycles of history and to be demonstrated later in Blake's work, can lead man both into the disastrous, dull round of history, as it does in the first six Orc cycles, and can, as it does in the seventh Jesus cycle, lead man to regeneration. Again, here, as Blake shows in the discussion of the four faces of man, his work cannot be read mythologically. His symbols are energizing and paradox is an essential part of his world. It is only through contraries that regeneration will occur, and the Poet consciously creates contraries in his symbols. Therefore, the four visionary Kingdoms, as created by the Poet to regenerate man, are working, living states through which man must pass in his various stages of error and redemption. The nature of the four visionary Kingdoms is essentially merciful and regenerative even though most of the poetry deals with the fallen world. Fourfold man as history is the merciful "space" created by the Daughters of Beulah under the guidance of Enitharmon, the goddess of space, to provide fallen Albion a "determinate form" or "identity." The Fall is not complete extinction. Moreover, although Eden, Beulah, Generation, and Ulro are a hierarchy of sorts, they exist all at once in the bosom of man. Man may enter Eden at any time, now, if he should will it. Reality is changeable; man has the power to change it. The Fall is his choice not to choose and is also his choice not to perceive, his choice to perceive as one in states of Generation and of Ulro.

Twofold man, then, is fourfold, because he is true man and spectre. In the eternal or imaginative man the two contraries interact freely but in the spectre or selfhood rational repose tries to negate dynamic, ever-changing reality. History or fallen man is the institutionalized attempt to deny that reality can change (that reality is mental). After the Last Judgment no institution will any longer support the notion of a static world; errors will be but isolated instances of the failure to grow. Man is twofold, then, because all things are identified, but their identity is in their minute particularity, which is not division. Usually, then, Blake describes man-in-history as threefold: the two contraries and the reasoning negative. It is only as Eden, Beulah, Generation, and Ulro that historical man is fourfold. After the Last Judgment, man will still be fourfold (Eden) and threefold (Beulah) but there will be no more historical Generation or Ulro except in history, in memory. The Fall is the failure in society of the two contraries to interact freely. Beulah becomes frightened of energy or change and forgets that identity or minute particularity is not division. Urizen tries to enforce unity and the result is division.

Man, in so far as he is human, cannot conserve his position in time, because, as Heraclitus says, the universe is "an ever- living fire, fixed measures kindling and fixed measures dying."[2] Therefore, Urizen's attempt to enforce negative unity is the reduction of society from brotherhood to an aggregate of egos who live in mutual fear and hatred. Before the Fall, man was the continual struggle between ego and imagination, but the Fall was the creation of an egoistic society. Imagination accepts that "Without Contraries is no progression. Attraction and Repulsion, Reason and Energy, Love and Hate, are necessary to Human existence" (MHH 3:149). But the ego makes value judgments reducing the contraries to Druidic forces of Good and Evil (MHH 3:149). The fallen world is the attack on the "particulars"destroying the "Wisdom & Happiness" (VLJ 82-84:611) of man and making the four kingdoms adversary states without hope of redemption for Albion. But the prophet sees that the "Contraries are Positives" (M 30:518), containing both "devouring" and "prolific" forces, that man is "mental war," the identity of all contraries in minute particularity. Every "Particular is a Man, a Divine Member of the Divine Jesus" (J 91:738), and any theory or religion which attempts to end the warfare of the contraries must be opposed.

Urizen's "one law for the lion and the ox" forces man into the static "circle of destiny." The only way out is to change reality. The Two Contraries, the Eternal and the Changeable, are the equally necessary parts of creativeness: their task is mental war and hunting,not the dilution and making insipid of the thinking man. It is the violence of love and of life which Urizen tries to oppose with his one law: "Albion! Our wars are wars of life, & wounds of love/With intellectual spears, & long winged arrows of thought" (J 38:664). The Two Contraries oppose the error of dualism (which is the true "materialism"), the tyranny of priests and kings. The contradictory notion of good and evil, which is the perversion of the Two Contraries taught by the first priests and kings (MHH 11:153), is the error, cruelty, an impossible absurdity which by contradicting itself brings about its own Contrary, and eventually its own Negation at the end of the struggle between the historical Contraries.

1

Eden is the highest of the visionary worlds, and even though it is described as "fourfold," its most important characteristic, paradoxically, as Rose points out, is its oneness:

FAINT LETTERING

> Fourfold vision, or fourfold anything for that matter, is a fallen description of infinite perfection, of unfallen Oneness. That is, four is really one all the time, but in order to describe unlimited perception, a paradox is stated. What appears as four is one.[3]

Eden is the imaginative state where "The Infinite alone resides in Definite & Determinate Identity" (J 55: 687). Here the imagination makes particulars both universal and distinct and in an explosion of creativity "one Thing never Changes into another Thing. Each Identity is Eternal" (VLJ 79:607).

Eden is founded on the brotherhood of man; the four zoas can only exist as one "from the Universal Brotherhood of Eden" (FZ I:264). It is through the imagination that identification of the self with another becomes possible, or when brotherhood is established. Each identity lives creatively in Eden and in a "fury of poetic inspiration" in relation to the other identities of the brotherhood of man. And their intense debates are carried out in an atmosphere of love and respect as Karl Jaspers describes it:

> Defence and attack then becomes means not by which men gain power but by which they approach one another. The contest is a loving one in which each man surrenders his weapons to the other.[4]

The eternals transcend negation and accept that everything is holy. They do not put emphasis on factors which separate man from man, subject from object.

Eden is " a haven of intelligence" not "a refuge of holiness." Man's intellect and wisdom are important here, not his wish to domineer others. The eternals live here in "hunting" and "mental warfare" (J 43: 672). The wars here are not of negative contradiction and destruction, but "wars of life, & wounds of love" (J 38:664). The mental wars are directed towards continuous creativity, "To build the Universe stupendous, Mental forms Creating" (M 30:519). This is the war of contraries where "Opposition is true Friendship" (MHH 17-20:157). Here man "calls his enemy brother," because the selfish, dualistic split has not occurred as yet: "Here they [Eternals] are no longer talking of what is Good & Evil, or of what is Right or Wrong, & puzzling themselves in Satan's Labyrinth, But are Conversing with Eternal Realities as they Exist in the Human Imagination"(VLJ 90-91:613).

The Eden in Blake's myth is unlike the Eden of the Genesis myth or Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The Bible which Blake sees as "the Great Code of Art" (Laocoon: 777), concentrates on the paradisical aspect of Eden or the garden of Eden, and the priesthood that interprets the Bible for fallen man emphasizes the Lost bliss of this Eden and the misery of its loss, man's punishment:

> And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden: and there he put the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.
>
> (Genesis 2: 8-9)

The priesthood sees the Eden of the Bible as a paradise where trees of beauty and nourishment are planted and which man is appointed "to dress...

and keep..." (Genesis 2:15). This is a land of blissful, bodily innocence where no mental questions are to be posed, where man is basically a child who must rely on the good grace and protection of his maker. For Blake, this static interpretation of Eden by the priesthood is the abstracting of energy from a beautiful myth and then its reduction to a form of worship to suit the priesthood in their task of enslaving man. And "Thus men forgot that All deities reside in the human breast" (MHH 11:153).

Milton's spectrous view of Eden in Paradise Lost (4:131-153) is for Blake similar to the teachings of the priesthood. For Milton, as well, Eden is a "delicious Paradise" with "steep wilderness," "loftiest shade" and "Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm"; a "sylvan scene" with "goodliest trees loaden with fairest fruit" that has been blessed by God. Eden, in both the Biblical and Miltonic descriptions, is for Blake a static concept of innocence, one that does not satisfactorily describe the mental activity that occurs in Eden, and one with which the dynamic natures of the Eternals can never be content. For Blake, Eden is not a sheeplike but an energetic and fully conscious oneness where the Eternals contract and expand their senses at will; where, through self-sacrifice, the Eternals are continuously transformed into their contraries. Blake's Eden is, as Altizer observes, "both the pre-kenotic form of the Godhead--and in this form it is now lost to Vision--and the final apocalyptic epiphany of Albion as the cosmic body of Jesus": [5]

"We live as One Man; for contracting our infinite senses
We behold multitude, or expanding, we behold as one,
As One Man all the Universal Family, and that One Man
We call Jesus the Christ; and he in us, and we in him
Live in perfect harmony in Eden, the land of life,
Giving, recieving, and forgiving each other's trespasses."

(J 38: 664-665)

Blake does not reject Innocence, but only the kind of static innocence which is attributed to Adam and Eve in Paradise by the priesthood and Milton. Innocence, for Blake, is the contrary of Experience and both are necessary. Yet they both contain the Reasoning Negative. The "Changeable" (in the trio of Eternal, Annihilable and Changeable) includes both Innocence and Experience. That is, the Changeable, and Innocence, and Experience, all contain the Eternal and the Annihilable. What is Eternal in Innocence and in Experience is the same thing: the vision of a better world than the fallen. What is Annihilable in Innocence is its static optimism. What is Annihilable in Experience is its static despair that the better world can become actual. Hence the Higher or Organized Innocence is dynamic, not static, and hopeful, not desperate: its hope, in fact, is dialectical, and is based on a world-view according to which the primary fact is change.

The static view of Innocence is best seen in poems like "The Ecchoing Green" (SI:116), where the ecchoing green sings out with joy at the rising of the Sun, the happy skies, the merry bells, the sound of the birds, and the joy of the human beings sitting and playing on the green. But this world has a weakness, it is threatened by the transient nature of time and human happiness. It is basically insecure and temporary, as the last two lines of the poem demonstrates: "And sport no more seen/ On the darkening Green." The people who "sport" on the ecchoing green are in a physically protected child's world and are like Thel who desires to prolong the meaning of the Fall by refusing to accept the reality of the discordant voices who now frequent the world. Thel flees the fallen scene leaving behind haunting, burning questions with which the being in Innocence is unable to cope:

> "Why cannot the Ear be closed to its own destruction?
> Or the glist'ning Eye to the poison of a smile?
> Why are Eyelids stor'd with arrows ready drawn,
> Where a thousand fighting men in ambush lie?
> Or an Eye of gifts & graces show'ring fruits & coined gold?
> Why a Tongue impress'd with honey from every wind?
> Why an Ear, a whirlpool fierce to draw creations in?
> Why a Nostril wide inhaling terror, trembling, & affright?
> Why a tender curb upon the youthful burning boy?
> Why a little curtain of flesh on the bed of our desire?"
>
> (BT 6:130)

Thel's agony reveals the incompleteness of a state of Innocence that is not dynamic, as Frye points out:

> In the account of "Eden" in Genesis, the unfallen state of man is presented solely in terms of Beulah; nothing is left of the flaming city of the sun which Eden must have been. But as long as we think of the state of Edenic innocence as uncivilized and pastoral we shall think of it as a protected child's world, and we shall never really see the fall from it as anything but an outgrowing of it.[6]

Moreover, says Frye, if Eden is imaged as the naive pastoral land and later contrasted with the restless but undoubtedly more meaningful (in human terms) world of man, the theory of "the insoluble paradox of the felix culpa, or fortunate fall" must be accepted.[7] This is then an admission that Eden is not challenging enough for man's thinking capacity, that it is a passive world, and that man's fall is a providential happening that produces ends which not only justify but vindicate the means.

For Blake what is wrong with the fortunate fall theory is that it is a justification of tyranny and priestcraft. In the Bible the fall is an unfortunate fall from childish ignorance and fallen man is continually reminded, through tyrannical prohibitions by the priesthood(both tyrant and priest), that he has "sinned" (symbolized by the eating of the apple by Adam and Eve), and all of fallen man's life is spent repenting this "sin." In Milton and Deism, the fall is a fortunate fall from childish ignorance (in Deism proper this becomes the "tyranny and capitalism are human nature"theory), and tyranny is justified as a punishment upon an immoral people. The Fall for Blake is the fall of man into selfhood and all of the prophetic endeavour is directed towards the uplifting of man out of this selfhood. But this change occurs only when man discovers truth and puts off error. Thus man's struggle with error is the exposure of error or the experience of tyranny. Therefore, even if there is no fortunate fall, man must be wiser after the Last Judgment than before the fall or repeat the fall over and over again. Hence the necessity to "Foresee & Avoid" the "terrors of Creation & Redemption & Judgment" (J 92:739) after the Last Judgment. Blake says "The Last Judgment is an Overwhelming of Bad Art & Science... Error, or Creation, will be Burned up, & then, & not till Then, Truth or Eternity will appear" (VLJ 92-95: 617). Man learns a great deal about tyranny and priestcraft in the fallen world, and even if he fell from a paradise that is primordial, if he desires to experience the Last Judgment, his paradise, in Altizer's words, will have to be "transfigured" to obtain "an apocalyptic Eden":

> a Fall that culminates in Apocalypse must be a fall of paradise, a paradise lost that is regained in a transfigured form. If a primordial Eden is to become an apocalyptic Eden then not only must that original Eden be lost forever, but with it must also perish every paradise that might otherwise be present in Experience.[8]

Eden is potentially always present and oneness will be restored when man overthrows error which causes man's division into separate parts. Eden is not a mythical existence which is continually promised and continually out of fallen man's reach. Eden is always within man's reach if man is prepared to return to a world of vision. Before the Fall, the Eternal identities, in striving to maintain the brotherhood of Eden, lived creatively, and will do again when the Last Judgment comes about. But this creativity cannot be borne entirely, for the eternals are, after all, "infinite" only because they are "determinate" and "definite." The "Lamb of God," through mercy, establishes a place of repose for the eternals, where they can sojourn for short periods to recover from and prepare for the continuous mental activity of Eden. This is Beulah. Here flock the exhausted, the weak, the terrified emanations. Here energy finds renewal.

But this necessary sleep for the eternals is temporary. If (as has happened in the Fall, but will never happen after the Last Judgment) the sleep is prolonged in an attempt to escape the world of mental warfare, then man will fall from Beulah, attempt to set himself up as contradictory force to Eden and, in fact, try to regate all that Eden is. Were this to occur again, as it has occurred once, the couches of repose and the sleepers would be (have been) translated into caves of sleep and henceforward referred to as "the dead," as one of the Eternals explains:

> "Man is a Worm; wearied with joy, he seeks the caves of sleep
> Among the Flowers of Beulah, in his selfish cold repose
> Forsaking Brotherhood & Universal love, in selfish clay
> Folding the pure wings of his mind, seeking the places dark...."
>
> (FZ 9:374)

Man turns away from recreative rest in favour of the deceits of the dark cave and the search for "a joy... without fluctuation." The lovely picture of the Eternals sleeping after a busy harvest (FZ 9:372) is now replaced by symbols of death and fallenness. Instead of the blooming flowers and the "soft," "feminine" world, there is a graveyard with graves, tombs, urns and funeral arks. This is where death originates, when the contaries are denied: "Mourning the daughters of Beulah saw, nor could they have sustain'd/ The horrid sight of death & torment..." (FZ 7b:340). Eden's oneness is now transformed into scattered pieces, and only after the Last Judgment will it become one again.

2

The use of the name "Beulah" as the garden of Eden has much literary precedent. "Beulah" is a Hebrew word meaning "married," and as a major aspect of Beulah concerns itself with the harmony and separation of the sexes, it seems plausible that Blake may have been influenced by the passage in Isaiah where Palestine after receiving God's favour is called

Beulah:

> Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken; neither shall thy land any more be termed Desolate: but thou shalt be called Hephzibah, and thy land Beulah: for the Lord delighteth in thee, and thy land shall be married.
>
> Isaiah 62:4

But Blake also sees Beulah as the abode of pleasant pastures, the garden of Genesis in which the gods walk in the cool of the day. Furthermore, he seems to associate Beulah with Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, a book that he was familiar with all his life. In Pilgrim's Progress, Beulah is described as a

> Sweet and pleasant country beyond the valley of the shadow of Death, and also out of reach of the Giant Despair: neither could they from this place so much as see Doubting Castle. Here they were within sight of the City they were going to: also here met them some of the inhabitants thereof: for in this land the Shining Ones commonly walked, because it was upon the borders of heaven.[9]

All of these sources receive attention in Blake's poetry. The passage from Isaiah, and, indeed, Blake's continous reference to the Bible, is relevant. Blake's Beulah, as is Isaiah's, is an unfallen kingdom, and, as is Bunyan's "sweet and pleasant country," it is beyond "the valley of the shadow of Death." Blake's Beulah, as does Bunyan's, corresponds to the Eden of Genesis, and Blake's Eden corresponds to Bunyan's Celestial City. But Blake's use of Beulah is closer to the Bible where in Isaiah 62:4 Beulah denotes a relation with God which like marriage itself involves both body and soul. It carries a sexual overtone of meaning which is certainly retained in Blake. By contrast, the same term used by Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress had been handled in a purely allegorical fashion. There is not the faintest sensual echo that materialisation of spiritual things which belongs to the imagery of the Hebrew Bible is really akin to Bunyan. Beulah has shades, hills, vales, rivers and pleasant pastures where the Eternals can find shelter and repose. Beulah is an illusionary land where "Contrarieties" can only be "equally True" because Providence has so ordained. Beulah, repose, can exist only as a necessary part of Eden, energy, and when the Eternals see Beulah as independent of Eden, repose, which in this case is energy's circumference, becomes the centre and destroys the contrary relationship with energy. Now Beulah becomes a land of warring contradiction transforming the androgynous and unified state of Eden into warring male and female principles. Beulah, which is threefold in its state of illusion, now becomes the materialization into Ulro and single vision. As a providentially eternal state, Beulah is a perfect resting place for the eternals and their sexual emanations. Here Beulah is identified with the highest symbolism of sex and Oothoon's dictum that "Everything that lives is holy" (VDA 8:195) is accepted. Now "the male & female live the life of Eternity,/ Because the Lamb of God Creates himself a bride & wife/ That... his Children evermore may live in Jerusalem..." (FZ 9:362). This sexual harmony is ensured only because of the merciful nature of the state of Beulah and can be shattered when the Eternals in this state ignore the essential dependency of Beulah; that is, there is no Beulah without Eden.

Seen from an unfallen perspective, Beulah, like Eden, is variety in oneness, a oneness that is illusionary and protected. But when the Eternals see Beulah in their fallen, selfhood position, it is dualistic and destructive. There are two levels in Beulah: an upper level of harmony and a lower level of delusion and torment. Thus Beulah, although it "is evermore Created around Eternity, appearing/ To the Inhabitants of Eden... on all sides" (M 30:518), is accessible to the depths of Ulro. This unique position that Beulah occupies, the realm between Eden and Ulro, makes it the critical area of Blake's theory of contraries. Beulah is the area of the changeable, as opposed to the eternal and the annihilable: "Judge then of thy Own Self: thy Eternal Lineaments explore,/What is Eternal & what Changeable, & what Annihilable" (M 32;522). The tension of Blake's Eden is only the active, struggling phase of what in Beulah is passive and peaceful, so that Beulah's peace is the maternal undifferentiation from which life flows and which has prompted Frye to remark that "All life is born in Beulah."[10] The infernal or diabolical sense of the Bible is that Eden is not a garden where the wrong moral choice is made, but a fiery city where intellectual choice is made, although ultimately the flames and the garden are opposite poles of one identity.

The fall of Albion occurs in the pivotal Beulah. It is here that the zoas relapse from imaginative creativity and enter into warring abstraction. Unlike the myth of man's fall in the Bible and Paradise Lost where Adam and Eve fall because of disobedience to God, Blake's Eternals fall from Beulah because of failure to respect the brotherhood of man.

In the Bible there is a static polarization between God and Man. Man is created as the image and the finest work of God. Man is given free rein in Paradise with One restriction, not to eat of the fruit of the tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Were it not for this restriction, Man would not fall; because of the restriction, he does. The fact that this prohibition exists leads to the ideas of good and evil, and the cycle of temptation, disobedience, punishment, and banishment. Milton, who follows the narrative of Genesis closely, also portrays the dangers which lurk behind the spectrous relationship between God and Man. Man is warned continuously of the dangers of evil as embodied in Satan, and his free will is constantly referred to so as to place the blame for the fall largely on his own shoulders. Blake, however, counteracts the teaching of the priesthood (The function of the priesthood in a tyranny is to provide a cosmology and an idelogy that are reflective of the social situation; hence moral virtue) by seeing and describing the Fall as a multi-faceted happening, where the simple story of man against a single God is no longer possible. Blake's Fall is the sparagmos, the practice in the orgiastic of the Greek religions of ripping apart the sacrifice, and it symbolizes graphically the chaotic disruption of man's harmonic balance. Blake makes the fall of Albion more plausible for the doubter of orthodox Christianity who considers the sin of disobedience to be slight and inappropriate as the cause of the immense punishment which God metes out to Adam and Eve. Instead Blake points out that it is man's own failure to respect contrary Edenic living which causes his fall, not an outside agent like the snake. Whatever pain occurs in the fallen world is brought on by man himself, by his refusing to perceive in fourfoldness and challenge "the restrainer." Just as man brings about his own fall, so, too, must he, with the help of the prophet, lift himself out of Ulro.

The brotherhood of man in Eden, which is the oneness of perception or fourfold vision that ensures the unity of eternal life, is shattered in Beulah. The selfishness of each zoa turns the brotherhood into hell and each zoa becomes his own parody, a perverted form of himself. When each zoa begins to separate himself from the dynamic oneness of brotherhood, he begins the process of "looking outward to the self" and pursues the rational separateness which is the chief characteristic of Ulro. The zoas begin to reach out to the outward and unreal image in the mirror and establish the "selfhood" kingdom of man where the "I," the "Me," and the "Mine" dominate and Albion loses all perspective, calling upon Urizen, the father of "selfish cruelty," to take possession of his scattered world:

> Rising upon his Couch of death Albion beheld his Sons.
> Turning his Eyes outward to Self, losing the Divine Vision,
> Albion call'd Urizen & said: "Behold these sick'ning Spheres,
> Whence is this voice of Enion that soundeth in my Porches?
> Take thou possession ! take this Scepter! go forth in my might,
> For I am weary & must sleep in the dark sleep of Death."
>
> (FZ 2:280)

Albion thus relinquishes responsibility for himself and his sleep is an indicator of man's further fall into the religion of selfhood under the control of Urizen.

Warfare is now permitted to reign and claims of victory and destruction follow. Urizen's doubt leads to Luvah's seizure of "the

Horses of Light" and his ascendancy to "the Chariot of Day" (FZ 1:271). And Tharmas becomes a raging spectre, a contradictory union of pity and wrath. The indispensable rôle that each zoa has to play in the coming-to-be- world of dialectical existence is ignored. When a zoa fails to observe this law of existence he makes static and contradictory the dynamic world of contraries, and by trying to impose order on energy instead of permitting it to create its own dynamic order he causes a breakdown of order.

The precarious sexual union of the eternals provides another element of the fall. Eden is an androgynous world, but Beulah permits a sexual union, one which can be fruitful and creative if not hindered by selfishness, envy and possessiveness. But once the zoas relapse into selfhood, they fall from Beulah into a tormented world of jealousy between male and female. Each zoa quarrels with his feminine counterpart and the sexual harmony of Beulah becomes an agonising dream sounding with cries of domination, jealousy and sexual perverseness. Luvah sees himself as "Vala's King" who "nurtur'd her" and "fed her with... rains & dews" and thus has the right to dominate her (FZ 2:282). For Urizen, the emanation is weak and indolent and passive and must not be permitted equal status with the masculine aspect of man:

> "Shall the feminine indolent bliss, the indulgent self of weariness,
> The passive idle sleep, the enormous night & darkness of Death
> Set herself up to give her laws to the active masculine virtue?
> Thou little diminutive portion that dar'st be a counterpart,
> Thy passivity, thy laws of obedience & insincerity
> Are my abhorrence."
>
> (FZ 3:295)

Enitharmon sees Los as her possession whom she can dominate at will: "thou art mine,/ Created for my will, my slave, tho' strong, tho' I am weak" (FZ 2:288).

Love is turned into a game of possession with the strongest having domination: a code of proper behaviour whence creativity is expunged and daily confessions of guilty acts which occur in the "Dark recesses" of man are demanded. Love is turned into hate and fear and suspicion and finally called "Sin" by Urizen (BA 2:250). Hence Tharmas and Enion are involved in a dialogue of jealousy which "examines every little fibre of [the] soul":

> "Thy fear has made me tremble, thy terrors have surrounded me.
> All Love is lost: Terror succeeds, & Hatred instead of Love,
> And stern demands of Right & Duty instead of Liberty."
>
> (FZ 1:265)

And Enitharmon taunts Los with her song of the female's enslavement of her lover:

> "The joy of woman is the death of her most best beloved
> Who dies for Love of her
> In torments of fierce jealousy & pangs of adoration."
>
> (FZ 2:289)

Here love is not given in the manner of Christ's love, but seeks revenge.

3

Ulro emerges when Beulah is split into a dualistic world of subject and object, male and female, and man and nature and spectre. Ulro is fallen Albion's materialisation into single vision or the ratio. It is a barren land of contradiction where the tyrant enforces his codes of domination through his priesthood and creates mental "Voids" and "Solids" and "dire mills" so that fallen man can oppose "the Divine Vision":

> There is the Cave, the Rock, the Tree, the Lake of Udan Adan,
> The Forest and the Marsh and the Pits of bitumen deadly,
> The Rocks of solid fire, the Ice valleys, the Plains
> Of burning sand, the rivers, cataract & Lakes of Fire,
> The Islands of the fiery Lakes, the Trees of Malice,Revenge
> And black Anxiety, and the Cities of the Salamandrine men,
> (But whatever is visible to the Generated Man
> Is a Creation of mercy & love from the Satanic Void).
> The land of darkness flamed, but no light & no repose:
> The land of snows of trembling & of iron hail incessant:
> The land of earthquakes, and the land of woven labyrinths:
> The land of snares & traps & wheels & pit-falls & dire mills:
> The Voids, the Solids, & the land of clouds & regions of waters
> With their inhabitants, in the Twenty-seven Heavens beneath Beulah:
> Self-righteousness conglomerating against the Divine Vision.
>
> (J 13:634)

Ulro is the kingdom of single vision, the deadliest of the four kingdoms, and the prophet must explore and conquer this monolithic movement of all error before Albion will become imaginative again. Blake's main theme in his myth is that "Of the Sleep of Ulro! and of the passage through/ Eternal Death! and of the awakening to Eternal Life" (J 4:622). The artistic figure sees this task as the supreme one, as the warp and woof of imaginative creation, "To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the immortal Eyes/

Of Man inwards into the Worlds of Thought, into Eternity" (J 5:623). The prophet must, like Los, tunnel through six thousand years of error to illumine and destroy Ulro, to bridge its solitudes with "Fibres of love from man to man" (J 4:622), and enable Albion to return to Beulah.

Ulro is the state of total error, the deadly sleep of the spirit, the mode of life which rejects vision and is therefore compacted of dark, delusive dreams. Ulro is the "Seat of Satan"(M 27:514), it is "Abstract Philosophy Warring in enmity against Imagination" (J 5:624). Ulro is the lowest point of hell, which is Chaos, which is creation, which is the materialism of dualistic selfish man. But Ulro is also a creation of mercy and love because the selfish dualism is a self-contradiction becoming visible as such, an error which redeems itself by becoming clearly visible as an error so that man may reject it. Ulro could easily have been one stage of man's fall into the abyss, "indefinite, unmeasurable, without end" (J 5:624); but the Daughters of Beulah, through the mercy of Jesus Christ, created this space to prevent man from falling into Eternal Death, into complete disaster:

> The daughters of Beulah follow sleepers in all their Dreams,
> Creating spaces, lest they fall into Eternal Death.
> The Circle of Destiny complete, they gave to it a space,
> And nam'd the space Ulro, & brooded over it in care & love.
>
> (FZ 1:267)

The selfishness of Ulro is the most dominating factor. Selfishness is dualistic because it tries to make permanent the division of object from subject. All other dualisms (amounting to the "cloven fiction") follow from the division of object from subject. Objectivity is Urizen's fear of the future: the fearful unknown feared by pity-without-wrath. Objectivity is Wrath, which in static worlds merely contradicts, negates, Pity, but in dynamic worlds achieves dialectical unity with Pity. Pity without Wrath is "self-righteousness," is the error of a soul separate from the body, the error of free will, guilt, and responsibility, and the error of the individual separate from society.

When Blake remarks in the "Proverbs of Hell" (MHH 8:151) that "Prisons are built with stones of Law," he is thinking of a society which finds it necessary to punish criminals. Such a society he sees as being a divided one, because it accuses the individual of possessing a selfhood free to contradict and divide itself from society. The society becomes divided because it has first seen itself as divided. Objectivity or Wrath is called "evil" by the timid selfhoods, who strive to accept rationally or objectively what they reject emotionally or subjectively (hence the dualism of reason and emotion). Because Ulro is a passive world where contraries are destructive negations, it deals chiefly in terms of "good" and "evil." Ulro is unlike Generation, when it is truly an "image of regeneration," where things are only true or false. That is, when man recognises tyranny in Generation and exposes it for what it is, man forsakes the duality of Ulro's static world, and reality is mental; objects are subjective; the body is the outward form of the soul; society is the individual, and the artist reminds fallen man that wisdom and intellect are more important in a man than moral virtue:

> "I care not whether a Man is Good or Evil; all that I care
> Is whether he is a Wise Man or a Fool. Go, put off Holiness
> And put on Intellect, or my thund'rous Hammer shall drive thee
> To wrath which thou condemnest, till thou obey my voice."
>
> (J.91:739)

However, all these identities are identical only because they retain their individual identities. Pity-without-Wrath, therefore, the attempt to eliminate Wrath, individual identity, fails and creates division or contradiction, which destroys it.

Ulro, because it is not indefinite, has three states, Creation, Redemption, and Judgment (J 36:663). Therefore even in Ulro there is a possibility of motion, a motion that leads upward into Generation and the hope of regeneration. While the fall of man has brought him into the lowest depths of Ulro, on the brink of Udan Adan, through acts of the imagination he can ascend scales of gradation back through Generation and Beulah. These scales of gradation Fisher calls the infernal counterparts of Generation, Beulah, and Eden.[11] Error has a merciful terminal point and when man has reached this point, through Los,he is able to achieve redemption. That is, when error reaches its most intense state of repression, man will recognize it for what is and will hopefully cast it out and create truth. When truth is created, when the contraries are restored, then redemption will occur.Hence the Mundane shell which Urizen builds is a part of Ulro, yet it salvages some of the spiritual elements of Beulah by giving the natural path of error a lowest point rather than indefinite descent. In fact, says Percival, "the Mundane shell is an heroic but futile effort to preserve Beulah, whose dissolution Urizen has just seen in vision."[12] The Mundane shell cannot provide Albion with regeneration, for it is built out of memory. Like Milton's Satan, Urizen attempts to form " a heaven" in Ulro from what he stole in Eden.[13] The Mundane Shell is not a world of its own; it is an integral part of

Ulro, just as Ulro is not self-sufficient, but is an interdependent part of the whole of existence, Generation, Beulah, and Eden. The Mundane Shell, as does Ulro, has the potential to become a part of man's regeneration when fallen man with the help of the prophet uses his imagination instead of negative reasoning. Therefore, the Mundane Shell belongs to the period of "Creation" in Ulro, and once it has been dismantled, that is when it is no longer used by Urizen as his tyrannic universe but recognised for its potential regenerative value, it plays an important part in man's regeneration.

As observed earlier, there are many potentially redeeming symbols in Blake's myth. For every destructive symbol there is a constructive counter symbol, through which the work of mercy and redemption is pursued. Los must create his own symbols to counteract Satan's "voids." Los's message to man, as was Christ's and thus he was condemned by the priests, is that he comes not to destroy and punish man for his error, but to forgive man and to teach him to use his experience of the Fall for his own betterment. The prophet comes not to criticize arrogantly but to hammer away the blinding surfaces so that the "true identity" of the object can be revealed. Los does not reject the corporeal world in the way in which Urizen's logical system rejects its opposite; Los transforms falsehood, so that man can achieve the correct perspective on it and the Last Judgment can take place within man. The "Thrice Nine" revolving "Churches of Beulah" with their "monstrous dishumaniz'd terrors" (M 37: 528) are part of the "Creation" stage of Ulro even though they have been responsible for the rampant growth of error, which is now called the

"Circle of Destiny." The Circle of Destiny is the aggregate of all that is wrong with man, and this circle grows in immensity and terror. But it is precisely this terror which represses man that not only makes man revolt, but even makes the tyrant recognize his own enslavement to the system in which he metes out this terror to man. When the pressure becomes unbearable, man challenges the tyrant and recognizes tyranny for the error that it is. Therefore, tyranny, after having been detected only by being experienced in all its cruelty and senselessness, will not only be cast into the fire, but the experience will make man wiser. The stage of "Creation" in Ulro is, then, the first moment when fallen man recognizes the tyrant and the path is now prepared for man's ascendancy through "Redemption" and "Judgment" in Ulro and further on to Generation and Beulah.

§ 4

The completion and fulfillment of the "Circle of Destiny" is its own destruction: hence "Generation" is the "image of Regeneration" (J 7: 626). It is in Generation that the contingent processes of time and space become the sole arena of redemption. It is in Generation that man's errors are hammered into definite, regenerative forms. Generation is the ray of light in the midst of overwhelming darkness in Ulro. In the very heart of darkness stands 'the spiritual fourfold London, continually binding and continually decaying desolate' as the imagination flourishes or fades. Man in Generation becomes dynamic again. He begins to recognize the true contraries and his perception is transformed to twofoldness, which is an ascending movement away from Ulro's static onefoldness. Now man begins to challenge tyranny and priestcraft and this challenge is a sign of man's desire to be redeemed.

Generation is the potentially regenerative aspect of Ulro. Although Generation and Ulro are coextensive and coexistent, they are not identical. Ulro is static; Generation is dynamic. In Generation Los restores the living contraries and man is rehumanized:

> Two Contraries War against each other in fury & blood,
> And Los fixes them on his Anvil, incessant his blows:
> He fixes them with strong blows, placing the stones & timbers
> To Create a World of Generation from the World of Death.
>
> (J 58:690)

This transformation, as seen earlier, begins when fallen man recognizes Ulro for the world of tyranny that it is, and with the help of the prophet a world of dynamic contraries is established, thus giving man a chance to redeem himself.

Because Generation is bound integrally to Ulro, it contains within itself all the contradictory elements of Ulro. Here, too, is to be found the "devourer" and the "prolific," the "angel" and the "devil," the "Rintrahs" and the "Pharisees." But Generation is unlike Ulro in that here these forces move dynamically resulting in the positive warfare of Eden: "Two Contraries War against each other in fury & blood." Whereas Ulro "is Babylon," says Percival, "a state of total unillumination," Generation "is man's painful and disheartening struggle to build the new

Jerusalem."[14] The "new Jerusalem" is the freedom and liberty which fallen man once possessed and which he must strive to regain. Since Generation is a world where man begins to know error, man, in casting out error each time he detects it and creating truth instead, is building the world of freedom, Jerusalem, which he once knew and will know again. Every discovery of error is the destruction of Babylon, "the Rational Morality" (J 74:715) which separates man and leads him further away from being redeemed. This also leads to the creation of Jerusalem, truth, liberty, freedom, which is Eden.

The concepts which embrace Generation are essentially involved in Blake's understanding of time and space. Because Blake identifies Los with time and Enitharmon with space (M 24:509), and as Los and Enitharmon in their unfallen natures are one, so, too, time and space are at the root one: "Time & Space are Real Beings, a Male & a Female. Time is a Man, Space is a Woman, & her Masculine Portion is Death" (VLJ 91:614). Before Albion's fall, time and space existed (because there is no phenomenon in this world which does not have its birth in Eden) in the organic unity of Albion and they were active and positive contraries. This picture is suggested in Jerusalem (98:746), that before the Fall and after the Last Judgment space and time were, as they will be once more, a necessary and non-destructive part of Eden:

> "And they conversed together in Visionary forms dramatic which bright
> Redounded from their Tongues in thunderous majesty, in Visions
> In new Expanses, creating exemplars of Memory and of Intellect,
> Creating Space, Creating Time..."

Because Eden is "determinate" and "perfect," time and space, as concrete particulars, expand and contract at will in the all-inclusive unity of Eden. While Beulah, as the world of illusion, is like Eden's faith in immediate perceptions (the fall of Urizen is the perception of this faith to doubt), in Eden its delight in illusions of space and time is replaced by a full consciousness of the fact that infinity is the imaginative creation of space and time, and thus Albion passes freely out of Beulah into Eden and back. When Beulah denies its illusionary existence, its perception of the definite and perfect world of Eden disintegrates into a fallen world of "solitude & chaos." This chaos, through Providence, is made definite as Generation rises out of Ulro, and it is given a time limit. Thus time, painful as it might seem to fallen man, "is the mercy of Eternity" and "without Time's swiftness ... all were eternal torment" (M 24:510). Therefore, Los, as the prophet who recognizes the errors of history, false time and space, "walks up and down" for six thousand years to shape all the errors of man:

> For Los in Six Thousand Years walks up & down continually
> That not one Moment of Time be lost, & every revolution
> Of Space he makes permanent in Bowlahoola & Cathedron.
>
> (J 76:716)

Los is continually "circumscribing and circumcising" (just as Enitharmon in her regenerate stage is weaving merciful spaces for fallen man) the vast error which exists in Generation: he gives concrete expression to Urizen's abstract error so that fallen man can discover it and renounce it:

Circumscribing & Circumcising the excrementitious
Husk & Covering, into Vacuum evaporating, revealing the lineaments of Man,
Driving outward the Body of Death in an Eternal Death & Resurrection.

(J 98:745)

The creation of space and time in Ulro is then illusory; they are created out of pity for the confused, scattered form of man. Space and time are intended only as "the bound or outward circumference of energy" (MHH 4:149). Space and time have no absolute existence, they are weak visions of the "definiteness" of Eden, as Erin remarks:

"The Visions of Eternity, by reason of narrowed perceptions,
Are become weak Visions of Time & Space, fix'd into furrows of death,
Till deep dissimulation is the only defence an honest man has left."

(J 49:679)

They must be seen as finite not infinite presences. When space becomes a real entity, it becomes like the Satanic "white dot" which generates infinite cycles of misery.

In Ulro, time and space are accepted as independent forms of existence, and the woes of man increase, as Swedenborg remarks:

> So long as appearances remain appearances, they are apparent truths, according to which every one may think and speak: but when they are confirmed, then apparent truths become falsities and fallacies.[15]

As long as man accepts "the Outward Spheres of Visionary Space and Time" (J 92:739) as an absolute fact of existence, then man is unable to destroy the veil of illusion which time and space are. Time and space are low states of mind which must not be allowed to dominate the centre of man's being. It is in Generation, which is basically the world of time and space, a world of change where error is repeatedly brought into concrete form, that time and space occupy meaningful rôles.

It is left to the artist to demonstrate to fallen man that there is more to time and space than his ordinary intelligence will allow him to contemplate. For the ordinary person the universe stretches out to indefiniteness in all directions, and to the fallen eye it is without any kind of limit or outline. The artist, however, begins by seeing time and space as definite tools of regeneration, not as something indefinite and abstract, that is, dishonest and manipulative:

> How do we distinguish one face or countenance from another, but by the bounding line...? What is it that distinguishes honesty from knavery, but the hard and wirey line of rectitude and certainty in the actions and intentions? Leave out this line, and you leave out life itself; all is chaos again, and the line of the almighty must be drawn out upon it before man or beast can exist.
>
> (DC 15:585)

The artist knows that "the clearer the organ the more distinct the object" (DC 4:576). Time and space must be bound to permit man to see the error which they contain when they are considered to be infinite presences. This is the task of Los, the universal Poetic Genius.

After the Last Judgment, then, man will become aware that he is the creator of time and space. Therefore, as Percival remarks, the possibility that time and space may be either real or illusory depends on the prophetic vision which is holding sway:

> The kind of space under which man at any period lives is in direct relation to the degree of selfhood in the prophetic vision. When prophetic activities finally become selfless, "spaces" appear as merciful circumscriptions of the infinite, illusions of a finite reality created for temporary needs.[16]

This is why it is necessary for Blake to create his own system, so as to ensure that his definite and boundless vision will bring the chaotic world into a form worthy of attack. Like the haunted sailor of Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner," Blake must journey through the generative world and speak his own mind about man's misery. He must define his own lonely travelling path, as every artist must do because "Every age is a Canterbury Pilgrimage" (DC 3:570), a journey from darkness to hopeful light. He must observe in "each charter'd street," in "every face" he meets, "Marks of weakness, marks of woe" (SE:216). The artist sees time and space as definite. He measures time from the fall of man to his regeneration, and he sees space stretching from Eden to Ulro and disappearing entirely in Generation when man forsakes error. Furthermore, the world of time and space is divided and sub-divided and embraces paradoxical symbols stretching from the limits of contraction and opacity to the moment when Christ assumes Luvah's generative robe. Although Blake's poetry is about the end of time and space, what lies beyond them receives very little discussion, and time and space are his most comprehensive symbols, comprehending almost all the others.

The task of Los-Blake to "circumscribe" and "circumcise" time and space is finally completed in Generation with man's reawakening; and as prophesied in Revelation (20:13):

> And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them; and they were judged every man according to their works.

The six days of the Last Judgment (in Blake) become a reversal of the six thousand years of Creation. With the Last Judgment the merciful creation of time and space (as does everything else in Generation) begins to be consciously created by man in a humanized universe.

NOTES

II

[1] In chapter one I observed that Rose, "'Mental Forms Creating' : 'Fourfold Vision' and the Poet as Prophet in Blake's Designs and Verse," *JAAC*, 174, says that the "circle is a continuous line" and that there are both "circles within circles" and "wheels within wheels" in Blake's work. This imaginative use of circles and wheels by Blake ensures man an opportunity to escape the disastrous path of history. In a later article, "Wheels Within Wheels in Blake's *Jerusalem*," *SIR*, 36-47, Rose, by comparing Ezekiel's "wheel within wheel" to the Urizenic "wheel without wheel," illuminates this point by showing both the meaning of vision and abstraction and how they work both as negative forces and then as contraries.

[2] Cited by Nurmi, *Blake's Doctrine of Contraries*, 66. The first part of Nurmi's unpublished doctoral dissertation makes an extensive survey of dialectical theories that have been expressed by philosophers of many cultures over the ages. Nurmi shows how Blake's theory of the contraries is not at all similar to that of Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464), the skeptic who taught that the contraries of this world become identical in God; nor is it like the "Yin" and "Yang" principles of Tsao Yen (3rd century B.C.), which function alternatively somewhat as do the alternations of electrical waves. Furthermore, Blake's theory does not follow the dialectical pattern of Hegel's thesis-anthithesis-synthesis or Marx's application

of Hegel's Theory to the material world. Some of these remarks of Nurmi are repeated in his essay, "On The Marriage of Heaven and Hell." Discussions of William Blake, 93-101, and they serve as a good answer to the Marxist interpretation of "The Mental Traveller," Arena, 46-52, by Arnold Kettle. Although Kettle is correct in a sense to see the cycle represented in "The Mental Traveller" as "acquisitive society" (50), what he fails to do is to follow his own view that "the poem is not an allegory." If he had, he would discover that the poem deals not only with "acquisitve society," but as a non-allegorical, energizing poem it tries to move through the state of acquistive society so as not to statically blame (which Kettle does so easily) "the vision of the bourgeois society" (51), and to lead man out of the slough of despond and in at heaven's gate. And although the poem illuminates " with a passionate and dreadful clarity...the human situation which it reveals" (52) it is not written with the hopelessness of one-fold vision. In fact, it follows the ironical pattern of the Orc cycles which have both descending and ascending moments.

[3] Rose, "'Mental Forms Creating': 'Fourfold Vision' and the Poet as Prophet in Blake's Designs and Verse," JAAC, 173.

[4] Jaspers, The Way to Wisdom, 26.

[5] Altizer, The New Apocalypse, 116.

[6] Frye, Fearful Symmetry, 231.

[7] Ibid., 231.

[8] Altizer, The New Apocalypse, 121-122.

[9] Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress,158-159. G. E. Bentley, Jr., in "The Inscriptions on Blake's Designs to Pilgrim's Progress," Blake Newsletter, 68, observes that Blake made the series of designs to Pilgrim's Progress during the last few years of his life. But Blake was familiar with Bunyan's book long before that. Because in about 1794 he made a print of The Man Sweeping The Interpreter's Parlour from Pilgrim's Progress. And in A Vision of the Last Judgment(68:604) he says that "Pilgrim's Progress is full of Vision."

[10] Frye, Fearful Symmetry, 232.

[11] Fisher, "Blake and the Druids," JEGP, 602.

[12] Percival, Circle of Destiny, 59.

[13] The Miltonic overtones of "Build we a Bower for Heaven's darling in the deep" (Paradise Lost 1:24) are explained by certain lines from The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (5-6:150). Blake substitutes "Urizen" for "Messiah": "It indeed appear'd to Reason as if Desire was cast out; but the Devil's account is, that the Messiah fell, & formed a heaven of what he stole from the Abyss."

[14] Percival, Circle of Destiny, 71.

[15] Swedenborg, Divine Love, 35.

[16] Percival, Circle of Destiny,222.

III

THE FOUR CONTINENTS

"The morning comes, the night decays, the watchmen leave their stations;
The grave is burst, the spices shed, the linen wrapped up;
The bones of death, the cov'ring clay, the sinews shrunk & dry'd
Reviving shake, inspiring move, breathing, awakening,
Spring like redeemed captives when their bonds & bars are burst.
Let the slave grinding at the mill run out into the field,
Let him look up into the heavens & laugh in the bright air;
Let the inchained soul, shut up in darkness and in sighing,
Whose face has never seen a smile in thirty weary years,
Rise and look out; his chains are loose, his dungeon doors are open;
And let his wife and children return from the oppressor's scourge...
. . . .
'For Empire is no more, and now the Lion & Wolf shall cease.'"

(A 6:198)

The four historical continents are Africa, where the Fall, or history, begins; Asia, where capitalism originates; Europe, the Ulro continent of abstraction; and America, where regeneration begins. The four chapters of Jerusalem, which Rose says are controlled by the figures of the four Zoas[1], also correspond to the movement of history about the circle of the four continents. Chapter One deals with the Fall of man in Beulah, which, historically, is Africa, where Atlantis falls into cruel Druidism. Chapter Two concerns itself with Generation, where man completes his fall into the mortal, sexual, private ego; historically, this is Asia, home of the merchants and the proverbial Oriental despots. Chapter Three deals with Ulro, the nadir of the Fall, where contraction and opacity have apparently reached completeness and man is at the point of crisis. Here man must choose between destruction and regeneration. This is Europe, with its false abstract vision, where true vision persists underground. Chapter Four concerns itself with Eden or the new Paradise. This area exists between America and Europe where revolution has begun but has failed through hypocrisy and deceit. However, regeneration is born out of this situation because once man understands the reasons for the revolution's failure then he will be able to choose regeneration.

Of course, the Zoas' compass point-correspondences are not identical with their continent-correspondences. The difference between compass point-correspondences is as follows: The fallen compass points have Los in the North, Tharmas in the West, Urizen in the East, and Luvah in the South. The continents are dominated by Urizen in the North, Los in the West, Luvah in the East, and Tharmas in the South.

The reasons why the Zoas' compass point-correspondences are not identical with their continent-correspondences are first that the four continents represent transitions: Africa is equal to Beulah but passes on to Generation; Generation is geographically Asia, which in turn gives rise to Ulro; Ulro is Europe but at the same time Europe inspires the revolution which will ultimately give rise to the new Eden. The second reason for the difference is that when the Zoas fall, Luvah and Urizen usurp each other's places. As unfallen zoas, Urthona occupies the northern, Tharmas the western, Luvah the eastern, and Urizen the southern quarters of the cosmos. In the Fall, however, Urthona remains in the North and Tharmas in the West, but Urizen and Luvah usurp each other's places so that Urizen is now in the East while Luvah occupies the South. It is because Luvah and Urizen exchange compass-points that the order in which the Zoas fall (in The Four Zoas) and to which they correspond in the first three books of Jerusalem is Tharmas-Luvah-Urizen instead of Tharmas-Urizen-Luvah.

History begins with the fall of Albion from Beulah when Albion turns "his Eyes outward to Self, losing the Divine Vision" (FZ 2:280). History is the story of Albion which stretches from Africa to the dark abyss of eighteenth century Europe. For Blake, man or the universe or history is unified, eternal man, who through the love of the selfhood splits into millions of separate identities now being suppressed in a world of immense chains. These chains are mental though they seem to be physical; they are themselves the so-called material world, a world which is simply the illusion that man is in helpless bondage. This fall or historical process is arrested temporarily at several points in its inevitable downward movement; the most noticeable being when Urizen builds, through a futile attempt to remember the Eden he has forgotten, the Mundane Shell, which for him is a substitute for the imaginative Eden. History is the ever narrowing circles, which contain the solids, the voids, the Satanic mills which degenerate to the ultimate "white dot" of Satanic abstraction and vindictiveness. The circles narrow to the static centre from which they generate themselves, the static selfish miser. History is, rightly seen, one whole. Blake sees all the religious, political, mystical, social, economic, and psychological movements of all time and in all cultures as one identity. Because Blake is the universal, creative spirit truly in touch with the Past, Present, and Future, he identifies himself with the movements of all time and in all cultures.[2]

Blake's task in describing the history of Albion is that of the young man with the globe torch in the frontispiece to Jerusalem. This young man, who is the combination of Los, the resurrected Milton, and Blake, is about to enter the dark inside of a house which he intends to search and illuminate. His task is to unroll six thousand years of destructive history that it may be rolled up "into a Ball," like the globe-torch, so that he can lead Albion out of himself and "in at Heaven's gate/Built in Jerusalem's wall" (J 77:716). Genius ("which is the Holy Ghost in Man," J 91:738) unites the most disparate events and intellectual processes that have occurred during the history of civilization. Art is always the labour "with the tongs and hammer" (J 6:625) to separate "Abstract Philosophy" from Imaginative thought so that Error may be revealed and Truth embraced. Art is the effort to awaken from the nightmare of history in which the sleeping Albion is stifled.

The narrowing circles of history, which Frye calls the "Orc cycles,"[3] are, paradoxically, like the "Seven Eyes of God." The Orc cycles, in themselves, are like "the Wheel of Religion" (J 77:717-718) which crushes man into atoms of abstraction and denies him the imaginative wheel of the chariot of vision.[4] If history were determined through the

Orc cycle alone, then mankind would be bound like Ixion to the wheel of time. Orc's birth is dependent on the forms of repression which exist within man or society. Man in the state of Orc recognizes that the first stage of revolt is the destruction of the forces which suppress him, and thus, in the early stage of the Orc revolt and triumph, new hope abounds and there is a flowering of imaginative culture. But man in the Orc state is overcome by Urizen's hypocrisy (hidden self-contradiction), and he is divided into meek worm and raging man (FZ 7:323). The raging man, isolated and mystified,further contradicts himself and becomes a self-destructive serpent (FZ 7:323-324). There are seven Orc cycles, each one gradually declining and making a less imaginative beginning until the "white dot" of Satanic opacity is reached. Logically, the Orc cycle,once it becomes Satan's "white dot," will slip into Udan-Adan, the lake of complete materialization and hopelessness. But the Orc cycle is integrally bound with the "Seven Eyes of God." These "Eyes of God" are represented by Lucifer, Molech, Elohim, Shaddai, Pachad, Jehovah, and Jesus (FZ 8:351). Each "eye" represents a major epoch of history, epochs which disintegrate and follow each other until the final apocalyptic epoch of Christ. During each epoch an Orc cycle or cycles occur. The first three Orc cycles take place in Africa during the Lucifer, Molech, and Elohim epochs of history. The fourth and fifth cycles occur in Asia during the epoch of Shaddai and Pachad; and the sixth and seventh cycles, embodied in the epochs of Jehovah and Jesus, occur during the European-American section of history. The Orc cycles narrow down to the Christ epoch when their pattern is ended, when the imaginative forces, in the "eye" of Christ, take control of life by reawakening sleeping man. Because that regenerative "eye" lives in the bosom of every man, man must reverse Albion's action which caused the Fall (the turning outward) by turning his eyes inward to see that history is within him. History is the sleeping giant, the One Man, the human imagination, Eternity, of which time is a mere reflection though fallen man thinks it is the reality of history.

1

The beginning of history is described in The Book of Urizen and "Africa" section of The Song of Los when the "shadow of horror," the "unprolific,/Self-clos'd, all-repelling" (BU 3:222) demon, Urizen the tyrant, gives "his Laws to the Nations" (SL 3:245). The Fall begins in Beulah because "pity divides the soul" and confused attempts or hypocritical pretences to legislate peace and unity create only war and division. Urizen, with the help of the yet to be redeemed "children of Los," promulgates his false religions and laws in every age: from Trismegistus (Africa) to Newton and Locke (Europe). He prepares himself now to complete man's binding or materialization by reducing mankind ("Har and Heva," Adam and Eve) to the spectrous ratio of tyranny. Man is transformed by Urizen into "two narrow doleful forms" (SL 4:246) devoid of passion and separated from themselves and from Nature and unable any longer to comprehend imaginatively. Urizen thus becomes the "self-contemplating shadow" who divides, differentiates, and appropriates for himself a superior position splitting the brotherhood of Eden and turning mental warfare into cruel physical war of victim and victimizer. Urizen's disruption of Eternity sets into motion a series of physical forces which now come to replace the Eternal and Immortal with "globes of attraction" and "Death" (BU 3:223). Man is now trapped among the fallen, cyclical images of the Earth and the other planets. It is upon this new creation that Urizen imposes his laws of cruel morality, the "Seven deadly Sins of the soul," and creates "Laws of peace, of love, of unity" (BU 4:224) to enslave all mankind regardless of individual talents and desires. At this point a separate female form is witnessed in horror by "All Eternity" (BU 18:231) because it gives rise to the fierce torments and jealousies of the female will who is later to play an important rôle in the enslavement of Europe.

Urizen's binding and domination of man, which is the chief subject of both the text and illustrations of The Book of Urizen and whose consequences are treated in detail in most of Blake's work, is alluded to only in The Song of Los, prompting Bloom to dismiss this poem as "a catalogue" rather than a poem.[5] The enormous Urizen, with what is to become his characteristic long, flowing, white beard sitting or holding his book or tablet of commandments or laws, dominates the magnificent drawings and worldof The Book of Urizen. Both the Title Page and the Tailpiece of this book portray Urizen in this pose.[6] The only differences are that in the Title page Urizen sits on his book of laws with his right foot sticking out on the left side of his body And in his two outstretched hands he has a quill and a burin with which he is preparing his laws in his books.

But in the Tailpiece he is shown holding on to his tablets or books. Whereas at the beginning of his false creation he sets out energetically to write his laws, when that creation matures man's chances of escaping from his limited world are less than before. In both illustrations Urizen sits under a tree whose thick stem and barren branches are circular in design although these details are hardly visible in the Tailpiece. One of the circular branches encloses the two gravestone tablets that are directly behind Urizen's back, thus reinforcing the image of the death and imprisonment that the fallen inhabitants of this world will endure. Urizen is displayed prominently in illustrations on plate four (a plate which is similar to the Title Page), plate five (where he displays his book of laws), and on plate sixteen (where there is a youthful figure whose fingers are streched out in a similar manner as Urizen's in the frontispiece to Europe). On plate sixteen this youthful figure is accompanied by two older versions of Urizen who flank each side of him and by another youthful-looking figure of Urizen standing behind the old figure on the left. These figures suggest the ever-present and ever-in-the-making force of Urizen.

The consequences of Urizen's domination are illustrated by the many postures of misery and agony which befall his world. In plate seven there are three figures hanging downwards imprisoned by spiralling snakes. In each of plates nine and fourteen there is a terrifying picture of a human being surrounded by flames and holding on to his head while his hair is on fire. These illustrations indicate Urizen's attack on man's body. But in plate ten, where a skeleton figure in the same crouching position as Urizen's in the Title Page is shown, Urizen's philosophy has now bound man's intellect as well, and has reduced man to the nadir of abstraction.

This point is reinforced by the illustration on plate seventeen. Here there is a circle in which is to be found many figures signifying humanity in its total image. This circle is surrounded by the hair and head of the bending Urizenic figure. Now Urizen's philosophy has entered the head of man, and all that he does is but an extension of the false thoughts that are in Urizen's head. Finally, the sexuality which is a major cause of the Fall is represented in two illustrations. Plate nineteen shows the naked figures of a man and a woman whose faces are concealed and probably represents Har and Heva hiding their faces in shame for the sexual act which they have performed. The male figure's face is covered by his hands while his head is bent down. In this posture of shame he is much like Theotormon in the Visions of the Daughters of Albion. Plate twenty-one illustrates the recurring theme of jealousy by a sorrowful picture of three naked figures. The duality of Los and Enitharmon has become a trinity. The three beautiful but pathetic-looking figures stand grouped under a lowering sky, hemmed in by rocks and vegetation (symbols of error and materialism). Los is already girt with the chain of jealousy. He sees in his son(Orc), who is embracing his mother(Enitharmon), someone who wants to supplant him. Hence he intends to use the chain in his left hand("the chain of Jealousy") to tie his son and to keep him away from Enitharmon. This jealousy of Los towards Orc represents a significant part of Blake's myth and is referred to in The Song of Los(3:246).

As noted earlier, the last illustration to The Book of Urizen suggests that Urizen has completed his task of binding and materializing man, and in the text Blake says that this is when Africa was founded:

> And the thirty cities remain'd,
> Surrounded by salt floods, now call'd
> Africa: its name was then Egypt.
>
> (BU 28:236)

The "Africa" segment of The Song of Los is bound integrally to this Fall of man in Beulah and it deals with the further spread of tyranny to Asia, Europe, and America. Africa represents the historical Beulah, the civilization that was equal to, or more probably part of, the Atlantic one. It is in "Africa" that Ariston, who is described in America (10:200) as "the king of beauty," "shudders" (SL 3:245) at the Fall in Beulah, a shudder which signifies the split in the Atlantic kingdom and which leads to the Lost Atlantis. It is only when fallen man is reunited within this kingdom in America that regeneration occurs. By this device Blake shows how one event is intimately related to another; and in this respect it is also worth observing that the last line of "Africa" ("The Guardian Prince of Albion burns in his nightly tent," SL 4:246) is also the first line of America 3:197. As Beulah is the mild universe of Tharmas, the heart of man, so is Africa "heart formed" (SL 3:245). Beulah, in relation to Eden, is a land of innocence and passivity. In relation to the furious forms of error in Asia and Europe, Africa, at the beginning of fallen history, is a land of innocence. This is also the reason why the African phase of history is not considered by Blake to be one of utter slavery. In fact, the passing of three Orc cycles[7] during the African phase of history shows that tyranny overtook Africa slowly.

These Orc cycles, as noted, are imaginative at the beginning, but gradually decline to where they are unable to be imaginative and become destructive. Whereas in the African section of history it is still possible to recognize the tyrant, because the previous Orc cycle contains some imaginative culture, it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between Orc and Urizen. By the seventh Orc cycle Orc seems to be much like Urizen (this point receives full attention later). It is then left to Jesus, the true revolutionary, to reveal the basic identity of Orc and Urizen.

But Africa is also the static innocence which must give way to the process which is Experience, the process which begins with the veil of the delusion of stasis and ends with the tearing of the veil and the revelation of the dynamic contraries behind it. Therefore it is in Africa that the contradictions which mutually exist in the uncritical mind of the sleeper in Beulah become the delusion of fallen man in a fragmented world in which contradictions or dangers exist in defiance of man. Africa is a static world in which the contradictions by matter of spirit and by subject of object cannot be seen as delusions veiling the unity which is process. Now the innocent Lamb tries to legislate the Tyger out of existence, but his fear only creates the Ulro of total fear.

This is the vision of Africa that Los sees "In heart-formed Africa" (SL 3:245), and it is from here that abstract history is passed on to Europe: "To Trismegistus, Palamabron gave an abstract Law:/To Pythagoras, Socrates & Plato" (SL 3:246). Palamabron is the second son of Los, one of Los's as yet unredeemed children who promulgates Urizen's false laws, and it is from his hand that Trismegistus, the legendary Egyptian sage, receives abstraction. Trismegistus is best known for the "Smaragdine Table," the basic text of alchemy. Blake condemns him for attempting to build "Starry Heavens" with his "Smaragdine Table," thus following in the footsteps of the star-god Urizen and drawing "Los down/ Into the Indefinite" (J 91:738). As will be seen in the discussion of Europe, Urizen, with the help of Trismegistus, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Newton, and Locke, attempts to build "Starry Heavens" in Greece and the Europe of Blake's day.

The illustrations to "Africa," which resemble in themes and composition those of The Book of Urizen, bear out the depressing vision that Los has of fallen man. The frontispiece shows a figure bent over a tablet in prayer, and overhead an arch with a circular sun or moon design.[8] The figure is enslaved to the cold, measuring morality of the ten commandments (the tablet), and as Urizen continuously carries his tablet or books of morality with him, the figure is clearly worshipping Urizen. The circular sun or moon shows the figure to be a sky-worshipper, and since Urizen is the sky-god, the figure is unable to extricate himself from Urizen's fallen wheel of history, represented here by the circle design. The frontispiece reveals the themes of Blake's poem, and here the message is clear that the world is enslaved to Urizen's view. The Title Page shows a prostrate figure with his left hand on a skeleton head. This figure is attracted to death, the skeleton head, and is, ironically, oblivious to his free, living surroundings. The three birds flying in between the title and the valley and mountains in the background show that one of the consequences of the Fall is man's separation from Nature. The chance, however, of restoring the unity of man and nature is very small at this juncture because man is attracted to the death which is to come to him.

The last two plates of "Africa" deal with the theme of the Fall of Adam and Eve and provide ample illustration for the warlike and restrictive sexual scenes of plates three and four of The Song of Los. In plate six, to the right of lines describing the flight of Har and Heva, there is the figure of a woman floating over the shrunken "vast of Nature" with her arms and false wings about to fall off. This is an indication that she will not escape the horrors of the Fall. Below, Har and Heva, in the form of children clasped together, flee over a murky landscape, threatened by crimson streaks of fire. In plate seven a male and female figure rest on a leaf which completes thick branches at the bottom. Whereas in plate six the purity of the human figure is marred by the covering of only one leaf, plate seven shows clearly that purity is becoming eradicated as thick branches begin to cover the nude figures (Orc undergoes a similar experience in plate one of America). These figures express how the Urizenic morality of good and evil dictates the question of love in Beulah.

Keynes says that plate seven of The Song of Los shows "Oberon and Titania, the King and Queen of the Fairies, or 'natural joys,' reclining in the innocent 'Lillies of Havilah'."[9] Havilah in the Bible (Gen. 2:11-12) is a land rich in gold, bdellium, and onyx. It is encompassed by the Pison, the first of the four branches of the river Eden. In Blake's myth Havilah is Beulah the place of innocent love. But this love is threatened by the dark sky and stars above the two figures. In Jerusalem (19:642) Blake calls the unfallen Vala the "Lilly of Havilah," symbolizing her basic purity and freedom of love. As early as "The Lilly" (SE:215) Blake sees the "Lilly" as representing the freedom of pure love ("While the Lilly white shall in Love delight,/Nor a thorn, nor a threat, stain her beauty bright") and the "Rose" as filled with thorns and being lustful. The Lilly and the Rose, as seen in plate eighteen of Jerusalem, are contrasted continuously to demonstrate the precarious state of love in Beulah. In the Bible the tyrannic forces forbid the pure love of Havilah (Gen. 3:24) as they do in Jerusalem (55:686): "... in Havilah... the Cherub roll'd his redounding flame." Har and Heva are fleeing, therefore, because the innocent love of Beulah has been forbidden. And this furious and warlike event coincides with the Atlantic Continent becoming part of the distant moon(J 49:679).

Urizenic morality occurred, says Blake, "Since that dread day when Har & Heva fled/Because their brethren & sisters liv'd in War & Lust" (SL 4:246). But "War & Lust" are a direct result of the enslaving of man's energy by the stultifying abstractions that are passed on to each generation by Los's sons. Thus Rintrah, the firstborn son of Los, "gave Abstract Philosophy to Brama in the East"(SL 3:245). Since the East is the area of man's passions, Blake means that in this state of being man cannot indulge in his passions any longer. This crippling of an essential part of man leads to the disastrous sinking of Noah, who had previously in the flood stayed above the waters (materialization), beneath the waters and thus being materialized: "Noah shrunk beneath the waters" (SL 3:245). Abraham recognizes that "Chaldea" is a world of passionless idolatry and he flees "in fire" (in inspiration) from it. But Moses, who with his burning bush (inspiration) had scourged the Pharaoh (Egypt) of tyranny, now, like Noah, falls prey to Urizen's "Abstract Philosophy," and turns God's words of inspiration to an unbelieving, undisciplined populace into a sterile code of tyranny and cruel restriction: "Moses beheld upon Mount Sinai forms of dark delusion" (SL 3:245). The fact that both Los and Jusus, the two redeeming figures of the myth, are temporarily enslaved to a world without passions, makes the vision of man in "Africa" devastating. Where love does not prevail as it did in Beulah, jealousy, suspicion, and hatred fill the vacuum. Therefore Orc is chained by Los (SL 3:246), demonstrating the depth of man's Error (this event is vividly illustrated in plate twenty-one of The Book of Urizen). Because Los is unable to appreciate the redeeming power of passion, he sees Orc, his firstborn son, as a threat to his relationship with Enitharmon and thus binds Orc unnaturally. The impact of the decision of an unredeemed Christ to spurn Oothoon's cry for a love which recognizes that "everything that lives is holy" and to receive "a Gospel from wretched Theotormon" (SL 3: 246), creates a total atmosphere of doom in "Africa" and reinforces Los's darkening vision at the beginning of the poem.

As noted earlier, man's redemption is intimately bound with the reawakening of the Jesus vision in the fallen world. Therefore, the decision on Jesus' part to accept Theotormon's self-righteous moral doctrine, which condemns free, loving spirits like Oothoon, completes in a dismal and devastating way the binding of man by Urizen. It is with this victory in hand that Urizen, through "Newton & Locke" (SL 4: 246), dominates Europe. The "human race" now truly begins "to wither" in such an unhealthy environment with "the healthy" building "Secluded places, fearing the joys of

Love,/And the diseased only propagated" (SL 3:246). It is this diseased love which is passed on to all the fallen generations of mankind and is portrayed in the spectrous war between "Mahomet's" "loose Bible," loose morality and Christian celibacy. Mahomet's attitude is seen by Blake as a reaction against the Christian ideal of celibacy which threatens the human race. Mahomet's "loose Bible" is given to him by Antamon, the fifth son of Los, and Sotha, the ninth son of Los who symbolizes the outbreak of war. It is Sotha who gives his "Code of War" to Odin, the chief god of the Scandinavian Pantheon, and who "first rear'd the Polar Caves" (M 25:510) with Thor. The "Polar Caves" are the dwelling place of Sotha and Thiralatha (E 14:244) where suppressed lust is transformed into war. It is Sotha who consorts with Diralada (Thiralatha), the last overt expression of thwarted sex.

A further response to the Fall is a color change on the part of the African: "black grew the sunny African" (SL 3:245). This important happening has bearing on the color question in "The Little Black Boy" and the Visions of the Daughters of Albion. Blake suggests here that black as a color is not a legacy of living close to the Sun, a new protective skin, but rather it occurs because of the Fall and will undoubtedly disappear with man's regeneration. It is only with the Fall that color becomes noticeable and that cruel distinction occurs. The black color of the African is seen here as a form of protest, a wrathful shudder which contrasts with the misunderstanding of blackness as a humiliation in the eighteenth century Europe of slavery and racial discrimination.

As observed before, fallen history is cyclical, an Orc cycle which moves from a position of relative imaginative triumph to the nadir of the reasoning negative. The "Africa" vision of Los indicates that the dismal picture of man which prevails at the end of the poem is about to be challenged by the "Clouds," the revolutionary Orcian forces, that "roll heavy upon the Alps round Rousseau & Voltaire," since indeed they are now challenging the tyranny "on the desarts of Africa round the Fallen Angels"(SL 4:246) and establishing for Africa, as it will in every other civilization, a "Golden Age."

During Africa's "Golden Age" imaginative culture flourished as never before in Egypt, Kush, Meroe, and Ethiopia.[10] Civilization, parent of the modern world, had begun in the river valleys of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and by the beginning of the fourth dynasty Egypt had emerged as a flourishing land which not only boasted a strong and enlightened government and monarchy, but also created a cultural environment where large numbers of artists and craftsmen were able to produce works of great and lasting art. Blake speaks of this period in Egyptian history when, in referring to the two pictures of Nelson and Pitt in the Descriptive Catalogue (2:565), he states that they are derived from "Persian, Hindoo, and Egyptian Antiquity" which possessed "stupendous originals now lost or perhaps buried till some happier age." Then, implies Blake, Egypt was a highly cultivated state which provided the artist with an environment that encouraged great works of art, and man's spiritual nature was recognized and given an opportunity to express itself and to express the spirit of history which exists in his own bosom. Thus Frye is prompted to say that the following passage from Jerusalem (45:675) shows "Africa as a giant of the same kind as Albion,... [and] he did not wholly fall:"[11]

"....................................When Africa in sleep
Rose in the night of Beulah and bound down the Sun & Moon,

His friends cut his strong chains & overwhelm'd his dark
Machines in fury & destruction, and the Man reviving repented:
He wept before his wrathful brethren, thankful & considerate
For their well timed wrath. But Albion's sleep is not
Like Africa's, and his machines are woven with his life."

It is for these creative people whose creativity was responsible for the beautiful palaces and monumental tombs that Cheops and his successors were falsely to take credit. The architecture of royal palaces and royal tombs was supplemented by decorative arts of unequalled beauty. The Egyptian stone vessels of the day have yet to be equalled by later civilizations in their technical and aesthetic perfection. Bone and ivory carving together with woodwork and leatherwork produced articles of everyday utility, but these crafts also provided artistic achievement in carved statuettes and engraved household articles.[12]

In this period of African civilization Africa believed in a personal God, and Blake in his Annotations to Swedenborg's Divine Love and Divine Wisdom (12:90) approves. Thus when Swedenborg observes that

> The Gentiles, particularly the Africans...entertain an Idea of God as of a Man, and say that no one can have any other Idea of God: When they hear that many form an Idea of God as existing in the Midst of a Cloud, they ask where such are,

Blake comments with conviction that if you

> Think of a white cloud as being holy, you cannot love it; but think of a holy man within the cloud, love springs up in your thoughts, for to think of holiness distinct from man is impossible to the affections. Thought alone can make monsters, but the affections cannot.

Blake's very personal poetry, the ability to transform myth into integrated living patterns, is a significant testament to this conviction. This is why Blake rejects thinking merely in terms of human abstractions such as "Cruelty," "Jealousy," "Terror," and "Secrecy," because these abstractions are not internalized in the thinking processes of the human mind. Thus in "A Divine Image" (SE:221) and in the several poems that receive detailed attention later, Blake demonstrates that "Cruelty," "Jealousy," "Terror," and "Secrecy" have a "Human Heart," "Human Face," "Human Form Divine," and "Human Dress", respectively, and that

> The Human Dress is forged Iron,
> The Human Form a fiery Forge,
> The Human Face a Furnace seal'd,
> The Human Heart its hungry Gorge.

Blake's peculiar vision (a seeing "thro" and not "with" the eye) can also transform "the dead Sun" of "phantasy" (Anno. to Divine Love 33:92) and the guinea Sun of the Miser (Letter to Trusler, 23 August 1799:793) into the sun of the Imagination: "an Innumerable company of the Heavenly host crying 'Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God Almighty" (VLJ 92-95:617). This central belief of both the African and Blake leads to Blake's criticism of Deism and of the Deists' god of abstraction and non-entity. For Blake, and for the African, God is a personal Being, the source of all being, the One who only Is. The knowledge of God is possible for man because God is immanent in humanity. All the knowledge man can possess of God is limited to what He is and how He dwells in man: "I am not a God afar off, I am a brother and friend;/Within your bosoms I reside, and you reside in me" (J 4:622). Therefore when Swedenborg claims that "In all the Heavens there is no other Idea of God than that of a Man"(Anno. To Divine Love 12:90), Blake states emphatically that "Man can have no idea of any thing greater than Man, as a cup cannot contain more than its capaciousness. But God is a man, not because he is so perciev'd by man, but because he is the creator of man." Man is the "image of the Eternal Father" (FZ 9:

374), and although each man has his own distinct and eternal identity, he proceeds from the "one Essence," the "Omnipotent, Uncreate" God, just as from "one Affection may proceed many thoughts" (Anno. To Divine Love 24: 91). This belief enables Blake to see in "every bosom a Universe expanding as wings" (J 38:665), "a World in a Grain of Sand," "a Heaven in a Wild Flower" ("Auguries of Innocence", Pickering MS:431), and that "every Minute Particular is Holy" (J 69:708). It is also why Blake concludes that "The worship of God is: Honouring his gifts in other men, each according to his genius, and loving the greatest men best: those who envy or calumniate great men hate God; for there is no other God"(MHH 22-24:158).

Blake is fully aware that Africa is not only Egypt. Therefore he makes reference to "The swarthy sons of Ethiopia" (J 4:721) and a host of southern African states including Lybia, Guinea, the Congo, Morocco, and a large number of black states which he simply refers to as "Negroland" (J 72:712). Blake lived in a time when there was much exploration and excavation going on in other lands, and Blake's reference to "Negroland" anticipates the archaelogical finds and historical viewpoint that came later. Some of the states he mentions had been penetrated by Egyptian raiding and trading parties and had come under early Egyptian influences. When the Egyptians arrived in these southern African lands, they realized that a fairly sophisticated society existed already. They found that the Negroes of the south were pioneering people in agriculture and mining, and that they were already skillful in terraced irrigation and the conservation of soil on steep hillsides. They built new and complex social

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systems, and they transformed whatever they could borrow from other (particularly the Egyptians) and technologically more advanced social systems to the north: adding and adapting and experiencing and inventing, until in the course of time they acquired a range of technique and a mastery of art, a philosophy, a temperament, and a religion that were unique to themselves.

The ruins of the ancient city of Meroe are a testimony to civilization in lands other than Egypt. These ruins are among the great monuments of the ancient world, and their history is an important part of the history of man. At Meroe and other points not far away stand the solitary ruins of palaces and temples built for a civilization that flowered more than two thousandyears ago while all around, still undisturbed by any spade, lie the city mounds of those who built them and lived within their shadow.[13]

Another African territory which displayed a high degree of civilization was Kush, the land from which Moses took his wife and against whom Aaron and Miriam conspired (Numbers 12:1; 12:10). For nearly a thousand years this Sudanese civilization of the middle and upper Nile (the Kushite civilization of Napata and Meroe) was a major African center for the exchange of ways of thought, belief, and manufacture.[14]

As already noticed, Blake and other European writers had linked Ethiopia quite closely to Africa's flourishing period. During the first millennium before Christ, peoples from the highly sophisticated and technically advanced southern tip of Arabia established themselves strongly in what is now northern Ethopia. Its capital was Axum, and from this area the famous Queen of Sheba was sent to King Solomon in the tenth century B. C.

A "Golden Age" declines, however, when a priesthood, which chooses forms of worship from poetic tales, is established and reduces man's imagination and true enlightenment (which lies in the fact that his destiny is within his own control) to abstraction (the delusion that history is outside man and beyond his reach). The political-social system of the cultivated empires of Africa was literate, hierarchical, replete with slaves and royal accumulation of wealth, given to the building of great monuments. The increasing demands and tyranny of such a system were best epitomized by the Pharaohs who, like Urizen, bound or materialized man until he was reduced to the spectrous ratio of tyranny. The brotherhood which existed during the creation of the monumental works of art was shattered and a selfish, egotistical world was established, a world that was the epitome of intellectual, moral, and political slavery. Now "A Pretence of Art, To destroy Art" (AR 1:452) was substituted, and the purpose of this false art was to deceive man of his own nature and the choices he was free to make. The tyrant's spectrous ratio tried to eliminate one contrary in favour of another and to regard this process as the moral triumph of good over evil. Man became "a little grovelling Root outside of Himself" (J 17:639).

By depicting the beginnings of history in Africa, Blake, who considers the Bible "fill'd with Imagination & Visions from End to End" (Anno. to Berkeley 215:774), is making use of the Exodus story. Man is materialized further under the "mathematical diagrams" (The Laocoon:776) of Osiris, Isis, and Orus (M37:528). The pyramids with their exact workmanship and angular form are built in terror by enslaved humanity. However, these slaves, imbued with a spirit of frustration and revolt, challenge the tyrannic structure of the Pharaohs and begin the exodus of the Israelites or the children of Albion. The Egyptians fall prey to the various plagues which represent their subjection to the bondage of nature. The Nile is turned into blood, which is a grim parody of what the Nile was in Eden. The end of the African cycle is made inevitable by the death of the first born of each Egyptian family, and the golden African civilisation, where man was once free and built places of great art, is now tranformed into a desolate place of "tombs," where "laws of prudence" are called "The eternal laws of God" (BU 28:236). The cycle ends when Fuzon, the Moses of Exodus, leads the children of Israel out of Egypt, the land of bondage:

> So Fuzon call'd all together
> The remaining children of Urizen,
> And they left the pendulous earth.
> They called it Egypt, & left it.
>
> (BU 28:237)

When "the salt Ocean roll[s] englob'd" (BU 28:237), that is, when Fuzon's conquest of the "Red Sea" flood separates forever the visionaries from those who are totally involved in the Selfhood materialistic globe-flood, the remaining souls, who must "Keep the divine vision in times of trouble," make their trek eastward to the continent of Asia where the Generation cycle of history begins.

Although for Europeans African history and civilization ended after the Israelites crossed the Red Sea into the desert, Blake does not treat African history, nor any history for that matter as something remote to be reflected upon rather than something actual to be lived in the present. Blake is the Bard of Experience "Who Present, Past, & Future see[s]" ("Introduction," SE:210), for whom the "Word" of "ancient" times is the present and future "Holy Word" for "lapsed Soul[s]" enabling them to break history's cycle of cause and effect. Blake sees history as an imaginative whole but from the perspective of the artist who lives in the heart of London. To him man's Last Judgment is to occur in Europe; to him history will either continue on its circular path or be destroyed, depending on how the perspective of the human mind is focused. Therefore, the third phase of African history, which is the period when Europeans rediscover Africa,[15] becomes for Blake the most important, because it is through the African's understanding and regeneration of himself, just as much as through the European's appreciation and rejection of his enslavement, that man shall return to Eden. Hence in "A Song of Liberty" (MHH 25-27:159), he calls upon "winged thought" to "widen" the "forehead" of the African not only so that the African will be set free, but also so that all of mankind can rejoice in this freedom because it leads to the freedom of all mankind. Blake does not see history as a fragment and leaves African history in a state of incompleteness and decline; he is fully aware that Africa is a "holy" particular, "a Divine Member of the Divine Jesus" (J 91: 738) that "gives forth or Emanates/Its own peculiar Light " (J 54:684). Blake believes that Africa is a continent that must be regenerated before there is hope for mankind. This is the reason why Blake addresses himself passionately to the European debate on racial discrimination and slavery which had begun in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[16] Blake knows that Albion must be awakened first, that he must be cleansed of racial prejudice both in the mind and body, that he must see the error which surrounds him, and that he must will it away before history will disappear, including Africa's error in that disappearance.

Blake sees the enslaved negro of his time as a "modulation" of the oppressed African and his civilization,[17] and to appreciate Blake's reaction to this enslavement in "The Little Black Boy" and the Visions of the Daughters of Albion, the poems must be seen in the context of their time.[18] That means there must be an understanding of the European mind in its relationship to Africa and of the abuse to which this mind subjected the humanity of the African. The slave trade morally degraded both the slaves and the slavers. It created what Thomas Clarkson called "an immense mass of evil."[19] Through enslaving Africans, Europeans abused their own humanity as well. They came to believe that Africa was indeed cast away in savage chaos, that Africans had never known any reasonable social order of their own, and that African slaves deserved no better than they got. The myth of African mental inferiority, sexual lasciviousness, and laziness was rampant at the time. A Liverpool pamphlet of 1792 claimed that Africans were "the most lascivious of all human beings" and that their enslavement was actually good for them because it removed them from their wives and thus "they will never have the opportunity of indulging their passions in the country to which they are embarking." Thomas Jefferson suggested that Negroes are in memory equal to the whites; but "in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous." Jefferson's remark was challenged by Imlay White who said: "... what can be more uncertain and false than estimating and comparing the intellects of two descriptions of men: one enslaved, degraded and fettered in all their acts of volition ... the other free, independent and with the advantage of appropriating the reason and science which have been the result of the study and labours of the philosophers and sensible men for centuries back."[20] David Hume, however, believed "Negroes to be naturally inferior to the Whites," adding that

> There scarcely ever was a civilised nation of that [Negro] complexion, nor ever any individual, eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufacturers among them, no arts, no sciences. On the other hand, the most rude and barbarous of the Whites such as the Germans, the present Tartars still have some thing eminent about them in their valour, form of government or some particular. Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen in so many countries and ages, if Nature had not made an original distribution between these breeds of men.[21]

In Germany, as well, the question of racism received some attention from such writers as Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottfried Herder, and Friedrich Hegel. While Kant was arguing in "Bestimmung des Begriffs einer Menschenrace" that there was no special distinction in being White and that there were no real differences between Whites and Blacks, Herder in "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschicte der Menschheit" was arguing that Nature had providentially constructed the black person's body in such a manner that it was more animalistic and responsive to sensual pleasure.[22] In this regard the sensual nature of the black body was particularly noticeable in the thickness, and bigness of the sexual organs, the breasts, and the lips. Furthermore, says Herder, the climate has made the black person a pitiful being, fit only for the life of brawn and not for higher culture. Hegel argued that Africa "is the unhistorical under-developed spirit" and that the "history of the world travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of history, Asia the beginning." He saw Africa as "the land of childhood, which lying beyond the days of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of the night." Furthermore, says Hegel, the African "exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thought of reverence and morality--all that we call feeling--if we would comprehend him; there is nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character."[23]

Blake's knowledge of the cruelties of slavery, apart from what he read, came to him in a graphic manner when he was asked by the bookseller Joseph Johnson to engrave the sketches of the flora and fauna and conditions of human servitude in the colony of Dutch Guiana. These sketches belonged to Captain J.G. Stedman and were included in his two volume work on this subject. Blake engraved "nearly all those [sketches] which illustrate slave conditions."[24] Stedman's account of how the negro slaves were treated is gruesome in its detail. Reports of "drunken managers and overseers, who ... wrongfully and severely chastized the negroes" and who debauched the wives and children of the negro males abound in his Narrative. There are frequent references to "barbarous executions" where slaves are "hanged alive upon gibbets, by iron hooks struck through their ribs," or "chained to stakes and burnt to death by a slow fire," or women "broken alive upon the rack" and decapitated.[25] When Blake received this commission from Johnson he was busy writing the Visions of the Daughters of Albion, and many postures of negro enslavement and defiance appear in his poem. In fact, as Erdman has remarked, the Visions of the Daughters of Albion is Blake's understanding of and response to the debate to abolish slavery which was then taking place in the British Parliament.[26] Blake, of course, was not alone in seeking the end of slavery. London newspapers, particularly after the success of the American revolution, carried almost daily stories on the plight of the slaves in British- controlled territories, and after the establishment of The Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787, a society which gathered evidence and organized meetings, there was a general outcry by the public against the wretched conditions that the slaves had to endure. In fact, in the first year alone of this society's existence, no fewer than thirty-five petitions had been sent to the House of Commons and had "excited the attention of government."[27] Among the protesters was William Wordsworth who condemned "the Traffickers in Negro blood" (The Prelude X: 249) who caused so much harm to man, and William Cowper whose "soul is sick with ev'ry day's report/Of wrong and outrage" which was perpetrated against men whose skins are "colour'd " ("The Task," 6-7). Cowper's "The Negroes Complaint" and "Sweet Meat Has Sour Sauce" became popular ballads on behalf of the abolitionist cause. Earlier, Pope, in his *Essay on Man* (1:107), had censured the avarice and cruelty of the slave master and longed for the day "Where slaves once more their native land behold,/ No friends torment, no Christians thirst for gold." Richard Savage in his poems of the Injured Africans warned of the day when "Africa's sable children" who had been "Vended for slaves" and had endured "nameless tortures" would revolt and then "blood may blood repay."

Stedman was particularly sensitive to the torture of female slaves because of his love for and later marriage to the beautiful fifteen year old slave, Joanna. Blake in the *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* uses Oothoon as a prototype of the negro's suffering in the plantations. Stedman's *Narrative* carried frequent reports of negro females having to submit to th "embraces of the manager or see her husband cut to pieces for endeavouring to prevent it." In his sketch of the "Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave" he told us that a "beautiful Samboe girl of about eighteen" had just received two hundred lashes because she refused "to submit to the loathsome embraces of a detestable overseer."[28] In Blake's poem, Oothoon is "rent" (VDA 1:190) by the slave master Bromion's thunder and she now becomes a valuable pregnant slave because she carries two lives. She is chained by her ankle in the same manner as the "Female Negro Slave with a Weight chained to her Ancle."[29] Oothoon, by inviting vultures to "rend their bleeding prey" (VDA 2:190), is similar to Stedman's Joanna, who insisted on enduring the condition of slavery until she could purchase freedom with her own labour. And Oothoon's lover, Theotormon, says Erdman, is similar to Stedman and other liberal abolitionists who understand the cruelties that Negroes have to face but who could not bring themselves to the point where they would like to see not only the abolition of the trade but the freeing of all slaves.[30] Therefore even though Theotormon can hear "The voice of slaves beneath the sun, and children bought with money" (VDA 2:190), he is like Stedman, who is impressed with the fortitude of the tortured Negroes and who can recognize that Europeans were the greater barbarians for treating Africans in such a miserable manner, but who regards Africans as perfectly savage beings who would be harmed by sudden emancipation.

When such an ambiguous attitude existed among the supporters of abolition of slavery, it was possible for the Bromions of the slave market to dominate and to extort slave labour and to claim:

> "Thy soft American plains are mine, and mine thy north & south:
> Stampt with my signet are the swarthy children of the sun;
> They are obedient, they resist not, they obey the scourge;
> Their daughters worship terrors and obey the violent."
>
> (VDA 1:190)

Bromion is, then, the slaver whose claim to "thy north & south" is based on his possession in both North and South America of African slaves. Bromion utters the same arguments as the "apologists" in Parliament who claimed that Negroes were "inured to the hot climate" of the plantations and therefore necessary for "labour under a vertical sun."[31] Blake ends the poem with Oothoon's insistence that "everything that lives is holy" (VDA 8:195) and that respect for the dignity of all men, regardless of color, must prevail, thus necessitating the end of physical enslavement for the African and freedom for the European mind.

It is important to observe that this distorted mental attitude of the European towards the African did not exist until Africans were captured as slaves. Race contempt crept in when free men could justify their material interests by the scorn they had for slaves, for men, that is, to whom an unnatural inferiority had given every appearance of a natural inferiority. Before the slave trade occurred the few European travellers who accidentally landed in African territories brought back glowing reports of "innumerable great cities and territories" and spoke of civil and friendly people who were trustworthy.[32] In Scotland in about 1460 when a "black lady with fulsome lips" visited Edinburgh, the poet William Dunbar wrote some memorable verses for her, describing her as perfect:

> Lang heff I maed of ladyes quhytt,
> Nou of ane blak I will indytt
> That landet furth of the last schippis
> Quhou fair wald I descryve perfytt,
> My ladye with the mekle lippis.

Even though some of the early European opinions of Africans were untrue, European reports on Africa demonstrated generally a respect for Africans. In their reports the Europeans supported no natural inferiority in Africans nor did they observe an inherent failure to develop and mature. The lack of respect for Africans first took place on the deck of a slaving ship.

The Portuguese were the first to embark on this lucrative trade of capturing innocent people and bringing them back to Europe to be sold. The British imported slaves from Africa for the first time in 1562 under the command of Sir John, Hawkins, and "Here," says Clarkson, "began the horrid practice of forcing the Africans into slavery, an injustice and barbarity, which, so sure as there is vengeance in heaven for the worst of crimes, will sometime be the destruction of all who allow or encourage it."[33] This was to be the beginning for Britain of a trade which lasted for four hundred years and saw the importation of at least fifty million slaves all over Europe. The slave trade started to dominate much of the commerce of the western world. The European ships, supported and later owned by merchants, would leave Europe for Africa with cheap manufactured goods and return with large cargoes of slaves. The slaves would in turn be exchanged (in the West Indies and the Americas), and these goods would then again be sold in Europe. It was largely on the steady and often stupendous profits of this circuitous enterprise that France and England founded their commercial supremacy.

The slave trade practically created the massive wealth and influence of the London merchants who now were able to control governments at will. These same traders Blake sees as controlling and monopolizing not only industry but art as well:

> there can be no Art in a Nation but such as is Subservient to the interest of the Monopolizing Trader... who Manufactures Art by the Hands of Ignorant Journeymen till at length Christian Charity is held out as a Motive to encourage a Blockhead, & he is Counted the Greatest Genius who can sell a Good-for-Nothing Commodity for a Great Price. Obedience to the Will of the Monopolist is call'd Virtue ....
>
> (PA 60-62:595)

It is the London merchant that Blake calls upon in "A Song of Liberty" (MHH 25-27:159) "to leave counting gold," the gold" amassed from colonial plunder" and "traffic in slaves,"[34] and to return to Biblical "oil and wine." The slave trade with Africa helped to enrich Europe, and out of this rapid economic expansion there flowed the circumstances that enabled England to achieve an industrial revolution. The trade brought an ever-growing demand for cheap manufactured goods to fill the slave ships on their outward journey. In this manner did the ship-builders trade not only provide Liverpool with new prosperity, but the manufacture of cotton goods for the purchase of slaves made Manchester a thriving center. Because trade was expanding rapidly, demands were made for machinery that could accelerate the manufacturing process and thus there were years of great industrial invention. The demand for coal, for example, could only be satisfied if better methods were devised for pumping water from ever-deepening mines. The solution was the steam pump which Newcomen and Savery found in 1712. Watt went a step further in 1776; and by 1803 Trevithick was building a steam locomotive to run on rails. In the textile industry Kay in 1773 invented a mechanical shuttle to displace the hand-thrown shuttle, and five years later Paul invented a means of spinning by rollers. Hargreaves brought out the "spinning jenny" and Arkwright followed with a "throstle" for spinning by use of animal or water power. These inventions were the work of craftsmen struggling to meet an apparently insatiable demand for cheap goods. In 1701, the value of British exports of cotton goods and yarns was 23,000 pounds, and, in 1820, 5,500,000 pounds. Industrialism was born, and it was the West African slave trade in all its ramifications, in large parts, that presided over the event.

But the Industrial Revolution was not a happy event for the majority of those who were involved in it. If it was bitter for Africans, it was scarcely less painful for the new workers of Britain. Slave labour on the one side, factory labour on the other, which was often only another form of slavery. There was little to distinguish one from the other. The old England of farming comfort and small merchant cities was hemmed around or swallowed up entirely by a new land of huge and hungry manufacturing towns where poverty and squalor sank to depths not touched before.[35] The Industrial Revolution, like so many other events in England where the Last Judgment is to occur, joined together the oppressed and the poverty-stricken classes of Africa and Europe. Therefore Blake's attack on the Industrial Revolution is also a challenge to the slave system which kept both Africa and Europe in bondage. Increased trade had hastened the coming of machinery, and the machine now regimented and brutalized and starved the new industrial worker and his family and robbed him of everything but his skill until, says Godwin, the worker himself became a sort of machine: "A mechanic becomes a sort of machine; his limbs and articulations are converted, as it were, into wood and wires. Tamed, lowered, torpified, into this character, he may be said perhaps to be content."[36]

It is this mechanised distortion of man, with its "Satanic Mills" and its "cogs" and "wheels" (J18:641), that Blake describes in the major prophetic works. It is during Blake's lifetime that the machine and the factory, the ring, and the cartel become norms of industry. It is, therefore, not surprising to find his dramatic characters like Vala, for example, mourning in a landscape of brick-making kilns that was familiar around London:

> The King of Light beheld her mourning among the Brick kilns, compell'd
> To labour night & day among the fires; her lamenting voice
> Is heard when silent night returns & the labourers take their rest.
> 'O Lord, wilt thou not look upon our sore afflictions
> Among these flames incessant labouring? our hard masters laugh
> At all our sorrow. We are made to turn the wheel for water,
> To carry the heavy basket on our scorched shoulders, to sift
> The sand & ashes, & to mix the clay with tears & repentance.
> The times are now return'd upon us; we have given ourselves
> To scorn, and now are scorned by the slaves of our enemies.
> Our beauty is cover'd over with clay & ashes, & our backs
> Furrow'd with whips, & our flesh bruised with the heavy basket
>
> (FZ 2:285-286)

Not only does the machine create goods for export, it manufactures arms for warfare, "swords, arrows, cannons, mortars,/The terrible ball, the wedge, the loud sounding hammer of destruction" (J 73:713). In Blake's poetry, war and industry are never far apart and are often identified:

> ...the winnow to winnow kingdoms,
> The water wheel & mill of many innumerable wheels resistless,
> Over the Four fold Monarchy from Earth to the Mundane Shell.
>
> (J73:713)

The Industrial Revolution dominates Blake's thought to the point where it shapes his symbolism.[37] This is why Blake comes to say that "The Male is a Furnace of beryll; the Female is a golden Loom" (J 5:623), and it touches man's body as well:

> ..., the key-bones & the chest dividing in pain
> Disclose a hideous orifice; thence issuing the Giant-brood
> Arise, as the smoke of the furnace....
>
> (J 70:708)

Ultimately the machine is Newton's universe which "revolves until man lost in space and giddy from the turning wheel stares vacantly into the spinning void thoroughly drugged by the automatic motion."[38] The Satanic mills and Satanic wheels are an abstract and dehumanized society of constraint. Man in a factory is a slave in precisely the sense that man is a slave in the Newtonian universe. The tyranny of Urizen, the false "architect divine" and the propeller of the "wheel without wheel," is over the creatures who have let themselves be caught within the wheels, the slaves grinding at the mill, until their souls are turned into a mill or machine:

> And all the Arts of Life they chang'd into the Arts of Death in Albion.
> The hour-glass contemn'd because its simple workmanship
> Was like the workmanship of the plowman, & the water wheel
> That raises water into cisterns, broken & burn'd with fire
> Because its workmanship was like the workmanship of the shepherd;
> And in their stead, intricate wheels invented, wheel without wheel,
> To perplex youth in their outgoings & to bind to labours in Albion
> Of day & night the myriads of eternity: that they may grind
> And polish brass & iron hour after hour, laborious task,
> Kept ignorant of its use: that they might spend the days of wisdom
> In sorrowful drudgery to obtain a scanty pittance of bread,
> In ignorance to view a small portion & think that All,
> And call it Demonstration, blind to all the simple rules of life.
>
> (J65:700)

For Blake, "A Machine is not a Man nor a Work of Art; it is destructive of Humanity & of Art" (PA 46-47:603), and from time to time the enslaved workers of England destroyed the machines, just as the black slaves on the plantations in the West Indies revolted against and killed their hated overseers and managers as a symbol of their oppression.[39] This was their protest against the cold, diagrammatic quality of their enslavers who were reducing them to hungry, haunted creatures in a society of plenty:

> And all the marks remain of the slave's scourge & tyrant's Crown,
> And of the Priest's o'ergorged Abdomen, & of the merchant's thin
> Sinewy deception, & of the warrior's outbraving & thoughtlessness
> In lineaments too extended & in bones too strait & long.
> They shew their wounds: they accuse: they sieze the opressor; howlings began
> On the golden palace, songs & joy on the desart; the Cold babe
> Stands in the furious air; he cries: the children of six thousand years
> Who died in infancy rage furious: a mighty multitude rage furious,
> Naked & pale standing on the expecting air, to be deliver'd.
>
> (FZ 9:363)

This is the environment from which comes the socially bitter poems of "Holy Thursday," "The Chimney Sweeper," and "London." It is London, the ultimate Industrial city, that Blake indicts for its social tyranny. It is in London with its "charter'd streets," its agonizing cries of infants and men, and its harlots where it is not

> ... a holy thing to see
> In a rich and fruitful land,
> Babes reduc'd to misery,
> Fed with cold and usurous hand.
>
> ("Holy Thursday," SE:211)

In a land where the Industrial owners become rich off the backs of slaves and factory workers, the majority of the people are poor and hunger-bitten. Such a place is truly a "bleak & bare" "land of poverty." In both "Holy Thursday" poems of The Songs of Innocence and of Experience Blake radically and uncompromisingly opposes the way fallen man normally experiences language and the world. Moreover, the poems also reveal a subtle but important shift in the Poet's use of language. While the "Holy Thursday" of Innocence, and indeed most of the poems in this series, subtly and ironically demonstrates the contrast between the oppressed and the oppressor, the "Holy Thursday" of Experience, and most of the poems in this series, confronts hypocrisy and cruelty in a bitter and direct way. Blake must have undoubtedly feared that fallen, confused man had become so deeply mired in his unimaginative state that man might easily have missed the regenerative message that is rooted in the poems of Innocence. What Blake shows here is that the state of Innocence is fallen and that the poems are not namby-pamby idealizations of children-- as Wordsworth tries to produce in "We Are Seven" and as is noticeable in the many poems of the age about children. But these poems of Innocence are filled with fear, weeping, lamentations, and a call for help. The "Holy Thursday" poem in the Songs of Innocence celebrates a sacred day in the Christian calendar. Six thousand of the poorest children from the charity schools of London march into St. Paul's. They are guided by their Beadles for a compulsory exhibition of their piety and gratitude to their patrons. Since the main theme of the poem is the cruelty and hypocrisy of charity and false patronage, there is little that is holy in this celebration. The illustration shows regimented and uniformed processions of children at the top and bottom of the plate, keeping the monotonous, measured rhythm of the phrase "two & two" (SI:121).

while the children are dressed "in red & blue & green," the hypocritical "Grey-headed beadles" are identified by both the color of their hair (on an old man's head the grey color of his hair is commonly seen as white) and the wands which they carry which are "as white as snow." Blake purposely uses a simile here because these men are associated by a likeness only and not identified with whiteness. They are, therefore, not pure but arrogant hypocrites who falsely assume purity. Their color contrasts the whiteness of snow with the blackness of pity without wrath. They are a likeness of Urizen who appears constantly in Blake's work with grey (white) hair and white beard. The beadles, then, act as a further restrictive presence to young children whose natural spirits would prefer to roam freely. This restricting presence is also the rôle of the Nurse in the "Nurse's Song"(the illustration shows the children's frolicking takes place under a willow) whose warning to the children that such fun must come to an end is restrictive and not born out of wisdom; and the mother of "A Cradle Song," where, in the illustration, the wicker cot which holds the child in sleep suggests the wicker idol of Druidism and restriction.

The "high dome of Paul's," though high, is constrictive and opposes the free, forever flowing "Thames' waters." Again, Blake is trying to raise man's perception to show man that a Church dome should not be the farthest point where his experience ought to carry him, but that in fact his perception should be like the infinite flow of the Thames. The final contrast in "Holy Thursday" is that between the unequal position of the children who are poor and the smugness and comfort of the "wise guardians of the poor." These guardians are neither wise nor can they show compassion. Blake's later decision to bring out Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience in one volume, and as noted his more direct statement in Experience, is undoubtedly an attempt to forestall any misreading of his clear intention to show what the hypocrisy and charity of his time really were. Therefore, the "Holy Thursday" of Experience comments on the action of the earlier poem. The illustration, as well, is more direct: the upper section shows a mother standing beneath a leafless tree that grows on 'the wat'ry shore' of the "Introduction." She is gazing at the lifeless body of her infant. In the right hand margin are other scenes of poverty and death. In the poem (SE:211-212), Blake contrasts the "holy," "rich and fruitful land" with "misery," "cold and usurous hand"; the seeming "song of joy" with the more truthful poverty cry; and longing for the Eternal world with the poverty-stricken world of London.

Nowottny's belief that "The separate words in a poem are not merely symbols in contextual settings but are themselves equally contexts for each other"[40] applies not only to every poem by itself in the Songs of Experience but also to all of the poems taken together and to the imagery within the individual poem. All the elements of Experience work together to indict inverted emotion, inverted religion, cruelty, war, and the "mind-forg'd manacles" imposed on man by the controllers of society. The imagery of "charter'd" and "mark[ed]" out imprisonment in "London" is contrasted in its unnaturalness with the more natural flow of the vast river Thames whose "charter'd" bounds are suggested only by the narrowing perceptions of man. The curses, tears, and agonizing cries of the poem reverberate in most of the other poems in this collection, making the context of the city of London the central unifying symbol through which the other poems must be seen. In "The Fly" there is division between man and animal, and in "A Poison Tree," whose accompanying design shows a man outstretched beneath a tree, the subject is jealousy and hatred. There are various poses of dark, deceitful, secret love and prohibition of love to be found in "My Pretty Rose Tree," "The Sick Rose," "Ah! Sun-flower," "The Lilly," "A Little Girl Lost," and "The Garden of Love" (in this last poem's illustrations there is a priest who is instructing a boy and girl in his repressive doctrines; below, there is the grave-mound of "joys" and "desires" which are "bound with Briars"). All of these repressive and unnatural values are derived from the society of "London" where marriage has been turned into a "Charter'd" "hearse" and where "Harlots" created by society's unnatural laws, through disease, "Blasts the new born Infant's tear." All of man's woe is summarized again in "The Human Abstract." But it is really in reaching the concluding nadir point of Error in "London" that the recognition of Error by the little Vagabond ("The Little Vagabond"), that man lives in a "charter'd" church and that cruelty, jealousy, and terror are man-made ("A Divine Image"), leads to the warning in "The Tyger" that man's great powers, which he now represses, and which are now a terror, cannot always wander in the "forests of the night" (Error). In fact, the illustration accompanying "The Little Vagabond" shows a forest full of gloom, and this is in keeping with the gloom in the bottom scene where the younger figure hides in the belly of the older, bearded, the typical Urizenic figure. There is also a male figure with his left foot stuck out, and his head resting on his left elbow, and his face worriedly turned to the ground, and there is a young child who is buried in his mother's arms while her head is gloomily lowered.

The design in "London" shows an old man bent in sorrow being led on crutches through the "charter'd" streets, and below, on the right side, another little vagabond warming himself at a fire. This is a significant commentary on the "Marks of weakness, marks of woe" that dominate the gloomy world of the other illustrations of this book. Here can be found objects, gestures, and lines of design that represent this fallen world. Decayed flowers and thorns as in "The Sick Rose"; leafless trees as in "The Tyger" and "The Fly"; dark, gloomy enclosures as in "The Little Vagabond." The human figure is bent in sorrow, oppression, prayer, or old age; it is even levelled by death. The most obvious line of "experience" is the horizontal. In these illustrations, objects have great bulk and weight. The protective arc becomes the heavy, restrictive arch. As in "The Sick Rose," the complete circle becomes malignant and strangles life. The lines are severe throughout and the few decorative vines have scanty or no foliage. Colors are, on the whole, more subdued and shadows are more prevalent. Such plates as "The Garden of Love" and "The Little Vagabond" resemble that of "London" in having the words separated from the main part of the illustration by a straight, horizontal line to indicate the separation of thought from action which has led to the agony of London.[41]

"The Chimney Sweeper" (SI:117-118) continues in some detail the commentary of "London" and demonstrates clearly Blake's intention to make his poems Songs of Innocence and of Experience aspects of the fallen world in the context of an industrial, poverty-stricken land. Thus "The Chimney Sweeper" is devastating in Blake's condemnation of industrial conditions which both create poverty and force thousands of children from the age of four years onwards to toil under slave conditions in order to ensure the prosperity of the capitalist and ruling classes.[42] If Blake's times are seen as the background to these so called poems of innocent children,[43] then the lines of "The Chimney Sweeper" become more poignant and bitter. Thus the lines

> When my mother died I was very young,
> And my Father sold me while yet my tongue
> Could scarcely cry "'weep! 'weep! 'weep! 'weep!"
> So your chimneys I sweep, & in soot I sleep

must be linked to the facts that these children were actually sold to master sweepers for as low as twenty shillings and that most of the master sweeps kept the children "worse than animals." Blake's half line "and we [the chimney sweepers] rose in the dark" means not only that the chimney sweepers rose before dawn but also that they slept and rose with soot all over them. These sweeps arose before dawn and worked until about noon. Then they "cried the streets" for more business until it was time to return with their bags of soot to the cellars and attics where they slept. Often they slept neither on mattresses nor even on straw, but on bags of soot which they had swept. It is no wonder then that the prophetic books are filled with imagery of the soot that is belched all over industrial England because this soot was a visible sign of the confinement not only of chimney sweepers who had to deform their bodies to enter the sooty chimneys, but also of the thousands of men who had to labour in the coal mines to feed the hungry mills.[44] It is in such a cruel land that Blake can see in every face that he meets "Marks of weakness, marks of woe" and he can hear that "the Chimney-sweeper's cry/Every black'ning Church appalls"[45] because man's mind and body has been "manacle[d]" ("London," SE:216).

The context in which Blake's response to racial discrimination and the enslavement of the black man and Africa has to be seen is twofold: Blake says first that the blackening capitalistic laws that enslave children who can hardly pronounce "sweep" also blacken and enslave the white poor by teaching them to despise the black slaves. Here Blake anticipates Pierre Vallieres belief in his book *White Niggers of America*:

> White racism hides the reality from [the poor] by giving [the poor] the opportunity to despise an inferior, to crush him mentally or to pity him. But the poor whites who despise the black man are doubly niggers, for they are victims of one form of alienation-- racism-- which far from liberating [the poor], imprisons them in a net of hate or paralyzes them in fear of one day having to confront the black man in a civil war.[46]

But the cruelty of white racism that Blake deals with in "The Little Black Boy" (SI:125-126) is not a fragmentary attack on racism, it is fully integrated into Blake's myth of the movement of history since the Fall of man in Beulah and in particular with his use of Africa from which the symbol and meaning of the little black boy is derived. This poem is Blake's insistent reaction to the greater part of mankind being relegated to an inferior position to satisfy the greed of the smaller part, and Blake's denunciation of such injustice is neither "misleading" nor lacking in "moral fervour."[47]

"The Little Black Boy" is a poem of telling irony which confronts the racist theories and clichés of Blake's day and which, in demonstrating the European's error in relation to the African, attempts to bring regeneration both to Europe and Africa. The first stanza deals with the clichés of African primitivism, wildness, inferior pigmentation, and the mother and child's inability to conceive their position in the European society imaginatively:

> My mother bore me in the southern wild,
> And I am black, but O! my soul is white;
> White as an angel is the English child,
> But I am black, as if bereav'd of light.
>
> ("The Little Black Boy," SI:125)

The "southern wild" is not the valley wild through which the Piper wanders in the introductory poem to the Songs of Innocence;[48] it is rather the racist cliché (expressed commenly by both the abolitionists and apologists for slavery) of a wild society whose enslavement is not a cruel process but a way of making the black child rational, tame, and orderly. Furthermore, the child repeats the deceptively equalizing message of the Sermon of the Mount, later relayed by "Priests in their black gowns," that in the area of man's soul there is no color discrimination and thus it does not matter if the English child is "White as an angel." The child himself, and his mother, have been taught by white society to see themselves as clichés, as abstractions,. rather than imaginatively. Blake sets in ironic contrast black-and-white symbolism and black-and-white cliché. Nowottny speaks of "the abstraction of language": "Abstraction, a normal process of arriving at meaning, is 'dead' only when it has the 'deadness' of habit, of the automatic reduction of utterances to familiar signals to produce familiar behaviour, linguistic or otherwise."[49] A cliché is such an abstraction, and in an eighteenth century world of slavery the clichés attached to white supremacy govern the minds of both the oppressed and the oppressor. Blake not only comments on the deadness of the relationship between white and black but he shows how when symbols become abstract they are used cruelly and automatically to suppress man's creative energy. Therefore, this poem in a way is an attempt to reawaken the language of Blake's time, to make both white and black, Europe and Africa, realise that they are willing victims of a deadness of language and personal relationships.

Adler is therefore wrong when he says that "The black skin, paradoxically, is a source of knowledge, of suffering, and of protection."[50] There is no evidence anywhere in Blake that one's body provides one with a position of superiority. In fact, the poet who says "Man has no Body distinct from his Soul" (MHH 4:149) is trying to show the British public (or any public for that matter) that there is no virtue in accidental qualities of blackness or of whiteness removed from the substantial person. The substance, says Blake, "gives tincture to the accident" (Anno. to Lavater 532:81). For Blake the body of man when it is abstracted from the real, the imaginative, being is but the cavern or skull or physical world in which the real man is imprisoned. He is, therefore, convinced that any program of mortifying that body only sustains its existence. The body's suffering for the mind's confusion does not in itself unconfuse the mind, and the slave's suffering contains no vicarious atonement for the white master. Confusion ends only with the rejection of suffering.

The confusion that the child experiences in relation to his black body emanates from his mother's own confused teachings which she inherits from the racist European society:

> "And we are put on earth a little space,
> "That we may learn to bear the beams of love;
> "And these black bodies and this sunburnt face
> "Is but a cloud, and like a shady grove.
> "For when our souls have learn'd the heat to bear,
> "The cloud will vanish...."

In trying to interpret these lines it is necessary again to remember the context of the poem. The Songs of Innocence is filled with mothers, fathers, and guardians teaching their children about life. The views of these teachers usually reflect the views of their society because these people are unimaginative products of an unimaginative society that believes in the dull round repeating itself over again (TNNR 1:97). Therefore, the mothers, fathers, and guardians of Innocence are truly Innocent; that is, they are in a state of unorganized innocence and they are incapable of comprehending experience. The mother of the little black boy is unable to comprehend the vicious racism which exists in the society. The belief that the mother of the boy is wise is inaccurate.[51] In fact, the mother's teaching, Blake demonstrates ironically, is the old, missionary-inspired, enslaved, sorrowful, unwise (wise only if it saves the boy embarrassment) view that somehow God's love will change everything. Nor is the mother "the guardian Christ who lovingly explains both the meaning of suffering and of Eternity," as Hirsch claims.[52] Christ is a visionary who comprehends the worlds of innocence and experience dynamically and would not teach the child something in the morning (Innocence) which does not stand up before the heat of the noonday (Experience). The child is taught underneath a tree; he learns the lessons of life underneath the shrouding of Nature, the Tree of Mystery, which is a major reason for his confused thought. The tree is not, as Gleckner claims, "a symbol of generation, the image of regeneration" or "Christ insofar as the creation was an act of mercy to provide a way toward regeneration."[53] In the first plate, the child is sitting on his mother's knee under a tree with leaves covering them. Here the tree seems to shroud them from real experience. In the second plate, an old man with a halo (most commentators say it is God, though to be doubly ironic and yet, as well, doubly explicit the old man can easily be seen as one of the naive older figures of the Songs of Innocence keeping the child from real truth) sits under a willow tree. However, contrary to Keynes' belief the tree as vegetation symbol does not "indicate" that "heaven may be found on earth."[54] It seems as if Gleckner's appreciation of the tree as a symbol of "generation" is taken from Keynes (or Wicksteed, Blake's Innocence and Experience); if so, Keynes' reading is not necessarily true. The meaning of Blake's tree is more likely to be integrated into Blake's understanding of Nature and the tree to mystery and confusion. In his later works, Blake treats the tree consistently as the negative aspect of the Fall. The tree of "The Little Black Boy" represents illusionary protection as do the cloud, the womb, and the state of Innocence itself. The first illustration to "The Little Black Boy" also bears out this position. In it, the mother of the little black boy seems to be the long suffering Mother Africa, who, contrary to Keynes' statement that "the mother is looking towards the sun,"[55] has a drooping head and a sorrowful face. Undoubtedly, there is further irony in this posture as there is in the fact that she is the only mother in this series of illustrations who has her breasts exposed. This fact is a comment on the clichés of black sexuality and lasciviousness, a major criticism which justifies slavery and ensures the binding of Africa. This fact is particularly important when it is realized that the mother figures in the illustrations to the Title page, "The Ecchoing Green," "Laughing Song," " A Cradle Song," "Holy Thursday," "Spring," and "Nurse's Song" are dressed primly and properly. Of course, all of these Mother figures are white as well.

Blake is saying to his society that the black skin of the child is a visible sign of his oppression. It is only a myth or naive view of innocence that a black skin is given to protect the child against the beams of the sun or God's love. There is no explanation given by those who hold this view why it is necessary for the child to be protected from God's love nor does it concur with Christ's famous remark, "Suffer little children to come unto me." In Innocence, God is the shepherd whom every child will go to without fear because the child of Innocence knows no fear. In fact, as Bloom remarks, the mother's teaching is confusing because she says to the child that "black bodies and sunburnt face are somehow not to be desired, and yet are the consequences of having borne the beams of love. They are a cloud which will vanish, and yet are created by a cloudless sun, emblematic of God."[56] The mother's confusion, of course, is the confusion under which European society suffers. Blake's poem severely chastizes its racism for supporting such involuted and deceptive reasoning to bypass the important question of the black man's slavery and his harsh treatment from the Europeans, and for postponing the day when regeneration will occur both in Europe and Africa. The last stanza of the poem,

> I'll shade him from the heat, till he can bear
> To lean in joy upon our father's knee;
> And then I'll stand and stroke his silver hair,
> And be like him, and he will then love me ,

which has confused the critics, shows Blake's belief that if people are judged by their color (their accident) then there is little hope of seeing into the cloud, that is, there is little hope of eradicating racism, because one form of racism will only supplant another and all the evils of the first form will be present in the second. By putting into the mouth of the little black boy a new expression of protectiveness and superiority towards the white boy, Blake is condemning racism of either side because it violates the "universal brotherhood of Eden." And as Blake says, "Rent from Eternal Brotherhood we die & are no more" (FZ3:293). He says there is something essentially wrong with the thinking of a society when the black boy must feel superior to the white boy before he can be happy. This grows out of a climate which sees races as unequal. Consequently, even in the face of God's presence,[57] it is not a protective satisfaction only that the black child desplays; it is rather a final realization that in "my father's house" the poor will not only be rich but the tables will be turned. This, of course, is the destruction of brotherhood where protection is not something to be striven for but "everything is holy." Only when this realization is brought home to the Europe of Blake's or any other day will the inhumanity towards Africans be eradicated and Europe become indeed the place of the Last Judgment.

Since the Last Judgment is to occur in Europe the history that Blake is developing in his myth is not an attempt to repeat the boastful record of tyrants and the confused reasoning of the justifiers of the fallen state of man. Blake's history is the ever-living journey of the prophet Los who must search out Error in every corner of darkness and identify this Error with the Fall of man in Beulah so that man can recognise it and liberate himself. For Blake, "Acts... alone are history" and these acts are not the sole possession of the "reasoning historians," the "turner[s] and twister[s] of causes and consequences." Blake identifies some of these "reasoning historians" as being Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire, Echard, Rapin, Plutarch, and Herodotus. In A Descriptive Catalogue (V:579), he challenges the immense power that these "reasoning historians" have wielded over man and civilization for so long:

> Tell me the Acts, O historian, and leave me to reason upon them as I please; away with your reasoning and your rubbish! All that is not action is not worth reading. Tell me the What; I do not want you to tell me the Why, and the How; I can find that out myself, as well as you can, and I will not be fooled by you into opinions, that you please to impose, to disbelieve what you think improbable or impossible. His opinions, who does not see spiritual agency, is not worth any man's reading; he who rejects a fact because it is improbable, must reject all History and retain doubts only.

In Blake's discussion of Israel and India in the Asian section of history, and of Greece, Christianity, Druidism and Deism in the European and American cycles, he is not interested in repeating tales that are already well-known; instead, he integrates these fragments into his vision of man's Fall and Regeneration. In this manner he brings the past into the Europe of his day so that history may become once more a matter of action not of reasoning.

The time in which Blake lived was one of great activity by archaeologists, explorers, and mythologists, and their findings often excited and influenced to some extent his own vision of history. Although the findings of such people as Bryant, Bailly, Davies, Wilford, Hancarville, and Jones added extra dimensions to Blake's vision, they neither shaped nor made his work "unintelligible" as Hungerford claims.[58] The eighteenth century was a speculative age where, by-passing the hitherto alleged authority of the Bible, new considerations of evidence bearing on the earliest history of man were entertained. It was an age where there was "an immense expansion of literary interests," when the "Arthurian and Eddic myths... were discovered or rehabilitated," when the "poetic scene was filled with Welsh and Scandinavian translations," and when "contributions were pouring in from as far afield as Persia and India."[59] The mythologists enjoyed for a brief period a central position in scientific inquiry. It is therefore not strange that some of the speculative thinking of the mythologists should appear in Blake's work, as seen in the earlier discussion of Albion. Thus Bailly's theories in his History of Ancient Astronomy and Buffon's theories in Epochs of Nature (which appeared in the middle 1770's), which speculated on the origin of man, seem to have influenced Blake's myth of the Lost Atlantis. These two writers suggested that civilization originated with a wise and happy people who inhabited the Caucasus Mountains and who, after several centuries, were overwhelmed so that successive societies retained merely the debris of the lost culture and faint reminiscences which survived in the varying myths of different peoples. These lost people are the Atlanteans who receive some attention in *America*, *Europe*, and the major prophecies. Davies, in *Celtic Researches*, depicted antediluvian society as a Golden Age, and he supported the biblical account of origins, asserting a relationship between the Druids, the Patriarchs, and Noah. Wilford, in *Asiatic Researches*, speculated that England was the actual spot where the events of antediluvian time, as they are recorded in the history of the Hebrews and the myths of other nations, had taken place. Wilford wanted to show that England was the actual cradle of the human race and that Genesis preserved merely one version of the events of the earliest history of mankind. The influence of these theories on Blake's thinking is unquestionable, particularly in the later poems and in his discussion of Druidism. But it is sufficient at this point to say that such statements as "All things Begin & End in Albian's Ancient Druid Rocky Shore" and that "Abraham, Heber, Shem and Noah" are Patriarchs and Druids (J 27:649), as well as many passages in *Jerusalem* which have been seen by some as unintelligible, emanate from the theory of myth prevalent in Blake's time.

Therefore, almost the entire chapter of Jerusalem, which links the Jewish patriarchs to the Druidical religion and all the imagery of a debased, moralistic tradition, can be better understood in the context of the speculations of Blake's time.

The theories of Hancarville and Bryant are particularly important in Blake's understanding and use of myth. Hancarville (Researches on the Origin, the Spirit, and the Progress of the Arts of Greece, published in 1785) held three beliefs of importance to Blake: that myths were merely variants of each other, were basically allegories of the procreative powers, and that there is a difference between the mythological and symbolical meanings of a work of art. He said that mythological fables were late associations of the emblems, attached to works of art when the significance of the emblem had been all but forgotten. Blake, writing his own myth in opposition to the many myths which had enslaved man for so long, agrees with Hancarville's statement, and he depends continuuously upon this view. This opposition to the conventional use of myth is particularly noticeable in his treatment of the Greeks and his imaginative use of the Hebrew Bible. Blake shared Dr. Johnson's view that the ancients had been used too often as a literary theme and that ever since the early Renaissance the mythology of Greece and Rome had been exploited so much that the freshness of this mythology as literary material had disappeared. Blake wanted to communicate his great message of man's need for divine guidance, and to do this he rejectd the worn out mythology of the ancients so long abused by the reasoners, and turned to his own vision of the universal symbolic language of God. Blake's imagination took him to the origin of things, the emblem, not the fable, back to the Titans of antediluvian creation. In rejecting "the Greek Fables," which had once been "Real Visions," Blake claims that "The Last Judgment is not Fable or Allegory, but Vision. Fable or Allegory are a totally distinct & inferior kind of Poetry. Vision or Imagination is a Representation of what Eternally Exists, Really & Unchangeably" (VLJ 68,71-72: 604-605).

This distinction of Hancarville between emblem and myth and Jacob Bryant's speculation on comparative mythology in his book, A New System; or, An Analysis of Ancient Mythology, published in 1774, had some impact on Blake's vision of man in the Europe of his time. That Blake knew of Bryant and the other antiquaries is clear from A Descriptive Catalogue (V:578) when he says that "The antiquities of every Nation under Heaven, is no less sacred than that of the Jews. They are the same thing, as Jacob Bryant and all antiquaries have proved."[60] But Blake makes his own particular point, that both the evidence of the Bible and the findings of the antiquaries ought to be used to discover why man's history degenerated from "real visions" to abstraction. This is what Blake attempts to do in his development of Jewish, Indian and Greek culture. In his attempt to appreciate how Europeans reached such a depth of error, he shares the mythologists' desire to seek the sources of European thought and to learn the processes by which that thought had become abstraction.

Blake is interested to demonstrate in the Jewish segment of Asian history how closely Anglo-Saxon culture is related to the Jewish culture and how, by overcoming some of the more reactionary aspects of this culture, the English or European can be regenerated from the natural cycle of history. Furthermore, he is interested in seeing how the Jewish culture, which delivered Art from the abstraction of Egypt and which promised so much at the beginning, turned into the moralistic and monopolistic culture that it was in his own time. As early as 1788 in *All Religions are One*(98), Blake claims that "The Religions of all Nations are derived from each Nation's different reception of the Poetic Genius" and that "The Jewish & Christian Testaments are An original derivation from the Poetic Genius." In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (12-13:153-154), Blake, through Ezekiel's reply, expresses both disappointment and concern that the Jewish code had come to dominate all other codes and that the Jewish God dominates all other gods. Ezekiel says:

> "and we so loved our God, that we cursed in his name all the deities of surrounding nations, and asserted that they had rebelled: from these opinions the vulgar came to think that all nations would be subject to the jews." "This," said he, "like all firm perswasions, is come to pass; for all nations believe the jews' code and worship the jews' god, and what greater subjection can be?"

Blake regards the Bible as the great code of art: it contains every fundamental story of man ; in fact the activities of Albion's sons repeat the pattern set by the sons of Israel (J 16:638). He is also aware that every imaginative writer in his own culture has been influenced by the Bible, and that in the case of Milton, whom Blake considers to be the major English poet, he had perverted the teachings of the Bible so as to become a moralistic, political apology for tyranny. For Blake it is necessary to recreate Milton imaginatively, because such a recreation is to change the course of art and of history.

The Bible is the great code of art that must like an eternal symbol give meaning to each new age, and from as early as the story of Samson in *Poetical Sketches* to the study of Revelation in *Jerusalem*, Blake reinterprets its stories. His writing is full of biblical beliefs, style, imagery, and often vocabulary. The Bible delivered from the debasement of abstraction is "Art deliver'd from Nature & Imitation" (The Laocoön:776); and thus the stories of Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel, the sufferings of Job, the style of Solomon's songs, the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel, the Exodus story in the *Book of Ahania*, and the vision of Jesus show what real vision must be. But nowhere is the influence of the Bible more noticeable than in *Jerusalem* where one can find the frequent use of the "homely imagery of the Hebrew prophets: the potter's wheel of Jeremiah, the iron pan and barber's razor and boiling pot and measuring reed of Ezekiel, the plumbline and basket of summer fruit of Amos."[61] Names of people and places and incidents are often literally transcribed from the Bible to the poem. Long passages in *Jerusalem* (particularly in chapters three and four), as for example plates seventy-four and seventy-five (J,74-75:714-716), use biblical names, allusions, and topography generously; but even here, with the mixture of British place names and legendary figures, Blake shows, once more, that he is not a slavish imitator and integrates his own vision with that of the Bible.

In trying to understand how Anglo-Saxon thought parallels Jewish thought, Blake is struck by Milton's treatment of the reactionary(Jehovah) and revolutionary (Satan) forces in Paradise Lost. Blake's narrative of Fuzon (Moses), "the fire of nature," who takes the place of an Orc chained on the mountain (BU 20:233) is his story of how Jewish culture (and correspondingly British culture) became reactionary after leading the Israelites out of bondage in Egypt.[62] Blake is interested in seeing what has happened to the fiery revolutionary figure and the culture that refuse to be bound by the restrictive forces of "abstract non-entity," forces that worship the "Demon of smoke," the "cloudy God" of materialization (BA 2:249). This is also Blake's main preoccupation in much of Jerusalem, particularly in the chapter addressed to the Jews. Jewish culture at the beginning of its Orc cycle is imaginative, as Druidism had been in its Patriarchal origins, and "Abraham, Heber, Shem and Noah" are among the early Druid Patriarchs from whom the race of the Jews has descended. Fuzon is Jewish culture in its imaginative period, and he is able to make a covenant with God that God will lead the Israelites into Canaan, the Promised Land, even though Jewish culture is later to enter "reptilization" or materialization. But Fuzon (Israel) is the "Son of Urizen's silent burnings" (BA 2:249). He (Israel) has a reactionary tendency and although he tries to reject natural limitations, he remains as bound by them as the fallen Urizen he opposes. Like the Urizenic Egyptian culture before Israel, Fuzon (Israel) sets himself up as God, the "eldest of things" (BA 3:251).

Like Urizenic Egypt, he also sets up a Urizenic "one law for the lion and the ox": "the rock fell upon the Earth,/Mount Sinai in Arabia" (BA3:251).

At this point the God that appears to Moses as the burning bush becomes the God of the moral law, hidden in Mount Sinai, and the road to the Promised Land becomes a pathless wilderness. In Jerusalem, chapter two, this woeful history of the Jewish culture is traced. The tradition which the Jews have in common with the Druids "that Man anciently contain'd in his mighty limbs all things in Heaven & Earth" is superseded as " the Starry Heavens [flee] from the mighty limbs of Albion" and "the Human Form/By laws of sacrifice for sin" is turned into "a Mortal Worm" (J27: 649-651). Now the "ornaments" of "the Garden of Eden," the artistic life, are turned into "solid rocks," a foundation of "certainty and demonstrative truth" so that "Man [can] be separate from Man" (J 28:652). Liberty is sacrificed and a "Strong Fortification" is erected against "the Divine Humanity and Mercy" in order to annihilate Liberty, Jerusalem, forever. In Jerusalem's place, Rahab, "the System of Moral Virtue" (J 39: 666), has circumscribed man's loins and the "terrors of Chastity," which are called "Morality," "govern all/In hidden deceit" (J 36:663) and turn Bethlehem into "Dens of despair" (J31:657). The imaginative Jewish culture, like all cultures that pursue abstract forms, falls into despair:

> Instead of Albion's lovely mountains & the curtains of Jerusalem,
> I see a Cave, a Rock, a Tree deadly and poisonous, unimaginative.
> Instead of the Mutual Forgivenesses, the Minute Particulars, I see
> Pits of bitumen ever burning, artificial Riches of the Canaanite
> Like Lakes of liquid lead: instead of heavenly Chapels built
> By our dear Lord, I see Worlds crusted with snows & ice.
>
> (J43:673)

The Jewish culture, which Blake claims emanated from the Patriarchal Druid culture, suffers the same fate as the abstract Druid culture, and the children of Jerusalem, Israel, are "woven round" by a Druidic "Wicker Idol." They are "Driven on the Void in incoherent despair into Non Entity" by "the cruel Sons of Quality & Negation" that come from "the Amalekite, the Moabite, [and] the Egyptian" (J 43:673).

Fuzon(Israel) in the guise of Urizen shows Blake's belief that the Orc cycle is not to be destroyed simply by using the natural means through which Urizen first created the natural world. "Urizen is sterility," says Frye; "he can only destroy children, not beget them, and can no more be the father of the succeeding Orc than Herod could be the father of Jesus."[63] Similarly, then, the Jewish Bible as a sterile code of law and order can only maintain European tyranny. A Fuzon or a culture which imitates the defunct means that went before it cannot lead the Israelites or their European followers out of the wilderness. Fuzon is nailed to the Tree of Mystery by the high priest of Mystery, Urizen, and he becomes a member of a long line of would-be revolutionaries that permit the "restrainer" to restrain their revolutionary fervour:

> The corse of his first begotten
> On the accursed Tree of Mystery,
> On the topmost stem of this Tree,
> Urizen nail'd Fuzon's corse.
>
> (BA 4:252)

Fuzon is not the Jesus of the seventh Orc cycle. Jesus' death is an inspiration to be imaginative, not a warning to give up in hopelessness and despair;

but Fuzon, slain by a serpent, later becomes a serpent.

Blake sees forty years' wandering of the Israelites as years of reptilization, years of "Wailing and terror and woe" when their skulls hardened into abstraction (BA 4:253). The river of Jordan, a "heavenly river" (J 79:720), becomes a terrifying crossing to Canaan for the children of the wilderness, and Reuben, the eldest son of Jacob, who is sent across the Jordan four times and returns four times, is now a "horrible Form" from whom every one flees (J 34:661). The Canaan that the Isrealites enter is not the Promised Land, "the Heavenly Canaan" (J 71:709) which is above earthly perversions. The Canaan referred to here is a deeper Ulro that closes Los off from Eternity and leads him to war with Satan (M 10: 491). This is the Canaan of abstraction, "the Shadow" rather than "the Substance" (J 71:709), and it is this Canaan that terrifies Reuben.

The Canaanites were a variety of tribes before they were conquered by Israel. They were ruled by "the Seven Kingdoms of Canaan & Five Baalim/Of Philistea" (M 40:532) who dwell in the devouring stomach of the Covering Cherub (J 89:735). The men of Canaan were great shipbuilders and merchants. As seen in the discussion on Africa and "The Song of Liberty," it is the immense concentration on "artificial riches" which contributes to the unimaginative and restrictive practices of slavery and the damnation of the trader. Blake sees this trading habit as one borrowed from the Canaanite, and he calls upon the Jew to forego "counting gold" and to "return to thy oil and wine" so that exploitation of man can be eradicated and regeneration can occur. He has Los view these same "artificial Riches of the Canaanite" (J 43:673) with fury and rage because they lead not to the building of "heavenly Chapels" but to the building of "Lakes of liquid lead" in which man is entrapped in an Ulro world of abstraction. This is why Jesus "scourg'd the Merchant Canaanite/From out the Temple of his Mind" and identified the "Merchant Canaanite" with "Satan & all his Hellish Crew" (EG 100-101:749) who are responsible for fallen man's continuing in his habits of hypocrisy and destruction.

Canaan in its fallen form is the "portico" of Urizen's fallen temple (J 58:690), and it is here that Druidism, particularly in the aspect of child and human sacrifice, flourishes: "Moab & Ammon & Amalek & Canaan & Egypt & Aram/Recieve her little-ones for sacrifices and the delights of cruelty" (J5:623). The Israelites, then, in crossing the Jordan, are in fact re-entering Egypt or Ulro, the mundane shell or cave of the mind. Having forsaken the revolutionary spirit of Fuzon which led the Israelites out of Egypt, and having adopted the spirit of the Hebrew law or vision of Jehovah, the children of Israel are not equipped to meet the challenge of Canaan; consequently, they merge with tribes and kingdoms hostile to their beliefs. This means that the belief that Moses is denied the opportunity to enter the Promised Land is not completely true. "His death outside the Promised Land," says Frye, "means that what he represents, the spirit of the Hebrew law or vision of Jehovah, was not good enough; but his death outside the fallen Canaan means that he was redeemed and not rejected by Jesus, which is why he appears with Elijah on the Mount of Transfiguration."[64] In the Book of Judges (2:11) God punishes the Israelites for failing to drive the conquered from their lands, for not destroying their altars, and for worshipping Baal and other false gods. He makes the tribes that the Israelites conquered their conquerors and sells them as slaves to Mesopotamians, Moabites, Midianites, and Amalekites.This is a sign that the Israelites had lost the faith they had when they left Egypt and that their enslavement to the hostile Canaanite tribes is in fact a symbolic return to their original state of bondage there.

For Blake, the Old Testament legalism which institutional Christianity claims to attack is in reality its own spirit as it divides the economic classes of society. Opposing the Bible of the "Angels," or upper classes, the "Bible of Hell"is hidden until Blake publishes it,as he ironically claims, for it is obvious enough to those who choose to see it. It is the work of the despised but truly creative "Devils" upon whom unimaginative fallen society parasitically depends without choosing to know it does so. Blake sees a parallel between the Fuzon-Urizen contradiction in Hebrew culture and a liberal-reactionary inconsistency in English culture. The imperialistic English, who like to think of themselves as the example of liberty to be held up before other nations, are more wrong and more right in their opinion than they can know until the Last Judgment. They are right in the sense that liberty, which is the culture of the prehistoric Eden, Atlantis, and which fell into Druidism,is British: "All things Begin & End in Albion's Ancient Druid Rocky Shore" (J27:649). Therefore, all history begins with the fall of Atlantis and ends with the true understanding of the American Revolution and its spread to France. The Old and New Testaments express not only the Atlantean visions of Fuzon-Joshua and Joshua-Jesus but the immediate suppression of them by reactionary force. At the same time, the Bible's last word is the apocalyptic prophecy of the fall of the Whore of systematic political prostitution: the loss of Atlantis, the Africa-Asia fall, the Asia-Europe fall, and the recovery of Atlantis are the scope of the Bible of Hell. Hence the identity for Blake of Hebrew and British or Patriarchal and Druid culture. It is, therefore, the two Joshuas, the Old Testament one and the New Testament one, who give history its (his) fourfold human form, Eden, Beulah, Generation, and Ulro. The Fall is the initial revolution in which Eden-Atlantis becomes Beulah-Africa. The first Joshua is the outburst of Atlantean vision which comes at the end of Beulah-Africa and becomes perverted into Generation-Asia. The second Joshua ends the Generation cycle but is perverted into the Ulro-Europe tyranny, the Roman Empire and the Roman Church and into Deism, the Great Whore, the ultimate and perfect fusion of Empire and Church.

In Jerusalem, then, Blake changes Biblical names and places to correspond with those in Britain. In Britain walked "those feet in ancient time" (M 1:480). Blake claims that the original world culture was Celtic, and fell into world Druidism:

> Was Britain the Primitive Seat of the Patriarchal Religion? If it is true, my title-page is also True, that Jerusalem was & is the Emanation of the Giant Albion. It is True and cannot be controverted. Ye are united, O ye Inhabitants of Earth, in One Religion, The Religion of Jesus, the most Ancient, the Eternal & the Everlasting Gospel.
>
> (J 27:649)

Consequently, the third Jesus, the apocalyptic one, will in a way be the fourth, and the first returned, for Fuzon-Joshua is really the second, not the first. Fuzon-Joshua is the reviver of ancient doctrine, of the eternal Divine-Humanity, not an innovator. So Blake's incitements to fallen man to cease humbling himself before State Religion or Deism sometimes ironically read like attempts to convert the Jews or arguments against the Jews: "If Humility is Christianity, you, O Jews, are the true Christians" (J 27:652). Christianity is the "Return to Mental Sacrifice & War" (J 27:652), not the false delusion of "outward ceremony" and tyrannical prohibitions based upon codes of good and evil. Ezekiel's statement that all nations are now subject to the Jewish code refers to the European, and especially the Anglo-Saxon, betrayal of original Christianity. The last cycle of history can only lead man outside the "circle of destiny" when fallen man accepts Blake's admonishment to the Jews: "Take up the Cross, O Israel, & follow Jesus" (J 27:652). Then there will be no following of gods, but freedom.

In The Song of Los (3:245), Blake's phrase, "Rintrah gave Abstract Philosophy to Brama in the East" indicates the shift of history to India and that here the way is narrower than the last. Yet, although indeed each cycle is narrower than the last, buried under it is always a new underground potency to subvert it. Since the visionary Ezekiel told Blake that it was in the East that the first principles of perception were discovered (MHH 12-13:153), then clearly Abstract Philosophy is the Urizenic contradiction of the discovery of the theory of perception, the step backward corresponding to that discovery's step forward. The faculty which perceives is of course the "universal Poetic Genius," which is at once all man's history and all man's religions: in itself, man's freedom; in perverted deformity, State Religion: "As all men are alike (tho' infinitely various), So all Religions &, as all similars, have one source. The true Man is the source, he being the Poetic Genius" (ARO:98). The "Poetic Genius" is the Imagination of man, but it is from the son of Los, Rintrah, that Brama or India obtains abstract philosophy, as it is later to be from Palamabron that Europe receives abstract thought (SL3:246). The reason why Rintrah is the source of Asian abstract thought is that Europe is a decline from Asia as Asia is from Africa.

The eighteenth century, as already observed, was a time of much discovery and intellectual activity, and it was also during this time that the foundations of a systematic study of comparative religion were laid and that several European scholars boldly plunged into the search for religion's archetype. As observed earlier, one of the journals which dealt exclusively in this kind of research was Asiatic Researches, which was established by members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and published at Calcutta. This journal was reprinted verbatim in England several years after its original issue in Calcutta. As might be expected, because India was such an old and fascinating civilization, attempts were made, particularly in the work of Wilford who lived in India and published chiefly in this journal, to show that India was in fact the cradle of civilization and that England was linked to it. Hence Wilford "conceived the notion that there was some connection between Albion and a certain fabulous White Island mentioned in Hindu myths," and "that Great Britain and Ireland are the sacred isles of the Hindus, 'of which Sweta Dwipa, or the White Island, is the most famous; in fact, the holy land of the Hindus.'"[65] Voltaire, who disputed with Bailly the question of the origin of civilization, believed that all the arts and philosophy came from India. Sonnerat in his A Voyage to the East Indies (1788) stated that "India in its splendour gave religion and laws to other nations; Egypt and Greece are indebted to the Indians both for their fables and their philosophy."[66] Blake, who was aware of the work of the mythologists (Hungerford claims that he probably knew of the Asiatic Researches), and who did a water color painting of the Brahmins (DCX:583), "was among the first of European idealists able to link his own tradition of thought with" the philosophy of the Hindus that he discovered in "the Bhagavad Gita".[67] For Blake, this linking of tradition demonstrates the essential unity of all history, thus preparing the stage for the ultimate moment of time, the moment when the four continents meet to become involved in the last events of history. For Blake all religions have at their imaginative core the belief that Human Beings can discover the Divine Being or Eternal Life in a direct manner if they accept that the purpose of human life is the revelation of Truth, the unitive Knowledge of the Godhead. Blake must have felt that the Bhagavad Gita provides the prophet with a series of directives to help him divest himself of egotism and be like Ezekiel who ate dung and "lay so long on his right & left side" to raise unconscious men "into a perception of the infinite" (MHH 12-13:154). It is the prophet's responsibility, through hard work and example, says Krishna, "to set others on the path of duty" and to make man realize that the greatest worship is that of "honouring other men" (BG 3:45).

The *Bhagavad Gita* reinforces many of the principles which Blake accepts as part of the universal religion. It argues, similarly to Blake, who believes that " The outward Ceremony is Antichrist" (The Laocoon:776),that private worshipping of the Brahman who exists in every man is not only the best form of worship but "superior to ritualistic worship with material offerings"(BG4:54). The *Bhagavad Gita* is very much concerned with the inward strength of man because it urges man to look within himself and there find his Atman, his true spirit:

> What is man's will
> And how shall he use it?
> Let him put forth its power
> To uncover the Atman
> Not hide the Atman.
>
> (BG 6:63)

The *Gita* argues, as Blake does, that "The Natural Body is an Obstruction to the Soul" (The Laocoon:775) and must be "cut off & separated, that the Spiritual body may be Reveal'd" (FZ 8:348). Furthermore, the *Gita* insists, as Blake does, thus opposing the Lockean view of knowledge, that

The wise see knowledge and action as one:
They see truly.
Take either path
And tread it to the end:
The end is the same.
There the followers of action
Meet the seekers after knowledge
In equal freedom.

(BG 5:57)

Blake's disagreement with the *Bhagavad Gita* comes on two grounds: the *Gita's* glorification of war, victory, and empire, and its denial of man's senses in his search for the Atman or true life.[68] The *Bhagavad Gita*, or Celestial Song, is an exquisite poem of seven hundred stanzas, in the original Sanskrit, about the science and practice of yoga. The *Gita* is a battlefield conversation between Arjuna, a son of King Bharata, and Krishna, the god of the Hindu religion who enjoys a stature similar to that of Christ in the Christian religion. Arjuna pleads with Krishna to "Halt my chariot" asking "What do I want with/Victory, empire" which only brings "Murder most hateful/Murder of brothers" (BG1:30-34). But Krishna, like the warriors of Blake's major prophecies and King Edward in the *Poetical Sketches*, urges Arjuna to participate in the battle "for, to a warrior, there is nothing nobler than a righteous war. Happy are the warriors to whom a battle such as this comes: it opens a door to heaven" (BG 2:38). Krishna further cautions Arjuna "if you refuse to fight this righteous war, you will be turning aside from your duty. You will be a sinner, and disgraced" (BG 2:39). This disgrace, Krishna says, "To man who values his honour, is worse than death" (BG 2:39), and he ends with a final victory call, which for Blake epitomizes Abstract Philosophy:

> Die, and you win heaven, Conquer, and you enjoy the earth. Stand up now, son of Kunti, and resolve to fight. Realize that pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, are all one and the same: then go into battle. Do this and you cannot commit any sin.
>
> (BG 2:39)

In this passage, Krishna denies the experience of the senses, dismissing the sensual aspects of "pleasure and pain" as part of the same abstraction from which victory and defeat derive. For Blake, a war based purely on achieving victory and empire, yet rationalized as a "righteous" war, is the destruction of the brotherhood of man. Blake sees the essential link in tradition of the Mosaic books and the Bhagavad Gita (the God in the Bible calls upon the Jews, as well, to make war often and to fight for righteous duty), or that all religions are one" at the root: "poetic tales" turned into abstracting codes. He sees that both books contain the following contradiction: both works accept that God or the Imagination is autonomous, independent of the senses, because reality is both physical and mental, objective and subjective (Moses' "God" is the objective subject, the I AM). That is, reality is the casting out of Error, the casting out of the physical by the mental, of the objective by the subjective. In this respect, both books are true. But both books err when they state that a God independent of the senses is the ultimate objective and not to be found through the senses and that the only way to unite with God is by denying the senses. From this error stems the phenomenon of priests of Mystery and priestly codes of prohibition supporting the rich or Kings (the words rex and "rich" being etymologically related). Blake objects to a philosophy which dismisses the senses as "unruly" (BG 2:42) and urges a program of action to expunge the senses because they "lower the mind" (BG 3:49) without explaining why the senses occupy such a powerful place in man's thinking. Renunciation out of fear is unacceptable. The senses are a necessary part of man and must be integrated into man's spiritual life.

When the Mosaic books and the Gita advocate the eradication of the senses, they leave in fact only the choice between two ways of being dominated by the senses. First, being a tyrant or a merchant, and, second, renouncing desire (setting up Kings and their Priests): one either deludes himself that he is satisfying sensual desires, becoming a King, or that he is renouncing them, becoming a slave (MHH5-6:149). The prophet, however, seeing through not with the eye, is one with what he experiences, not dominated by it, for he is free of and in control of time and space; he is history; he is not a mere private individual; he is one with God or man:

> Shri Krishna:
> Action rightly renounced brings freedom:
> Action rightly reformed brings freedom
> Both are better
> Than mere shunning of action.

The thought of the Bhagavad Gita here corresponds exactly with Blake's renunciation of "the philosophy of causes" and with his belief that all act is good:

> ...the Philosophy of Causes & Consequences misled Lavater as it has all his Contemporaries. Each thing is its own cause & its own effect. Accident is the omission of act in self & the hindering of act in another; This is Vice, but all Act is Virtue.
>
> (Anno. to Lavater 640:88)

The sense in which the prophet renounces desire is that he acts freely and with complete disregard of consequences. He abandons the ego and the belief in cause and effect. But priests pervert the freedom of the prophet to the slavery of those who obey "moral" codes or codes of behaviour of economic classes. Mosaic thought has its version of the distinction between Atman and Brahman; in Exodus, Moses is the Pillar of Cloud (Urizen) and Joshua the Pillar of Fire (Orc). Solomon, too, knew what he was about when he named the pillars Jachin ("may God save") and Boaz ("In him is strength"). They correspond to Pity (Palamabron) and Wrath (Rintrah), which are Brahman and Atman (more or less), which are Moses ("saved from the water") and Joshua ("God speaks"), or Moses, the silent one and Aaron the speaker or priest, who are JHVH the Silent Name and the word of Scriptures.

3

Alfred North Whitehead, in his book *Adventures of Ideas*, demonstrates in detail the influence which the Greek civilization had on the development of Western European thought and culture. In this regard, Blake had anticipated Whitehead's view. But unlike Whitehead, Blake is interested not only in praising Greek civilization, but in demonstrating how enslaved eighteenth century man had become to a Greek civilization which was, in its later stages, ruled by debasement and abstraction. Blake, unlike Whitehead, in trying to appreciate how man has reached the state of abstraction that he is in, finds it necessary not only to praise the imaginative aspect of Grecian culture but to find the factors which gave rise to the deep Error that Europe experienced in his own time. Here again, then, as he considers the European cycle of history, Blake shows that he is not merely interested in supporting the revival of classical culture: that also he wants to examine the roots of this culture to see how and why it became monopolistic and how its deleterious effects had led to an art in his own time which was merely imitative and which discouraged original work.

The influence of Greek art, and particularly mythology in Europe since the Renaissance has been well documented, and it is enough to point out that European writers were influenced by Greek mythology to the extent that their works were often truly understood only with reference to the Greek myths. That Blake, living during a period which particularly admired Greek culture, should come under some Greek influence cannot be denied, as Damon shows in his discussion of the Persephone myth in Thel, and as several earlier critics have shown from Blake's heavy use of myth and from the importance of classical influence in Blake's education as an artist. In drawing up his own narrative of man's Fall and Regeneration, and in striving to unite into one the disparate events and intellectual processes that occurred over the past six thousand years, Blake could not overlook the importance of Greek thought to his own culture and therefore he gives it more than cursory attention in his work. Furthermore, Blake is close in some ways to certain aspects of Platonic theory which might have come to him through Thomas Taylor;[69] in particular, the emphasis on Plato's doctrines of obscurity, the innateness of knowledge, and the Ideal Forms.

Plato, in the eighteenth century, was criticized, particularly, for his deliberate obscurity in expressing his doctrines by the enigmatical devices of symbol and myth. Plato, says Taylor, in conformity with others of the ancients, had "delivered the abstruse dogmas of his philosophy, in order to conceal from the profane and vulgar eye certain sublime truths" because Plato had "a profound conviction that the sublimest truths are profaned when clearly unfolded to the vulgar."[70] Blake seems in a way to support this view of obscurity in his second letter to

Dr. Trusler (23 August 1799:793) when he defends himself against misinterpretation of his work:

> You say that I want somebody to Elucidate my Ideas. But you ought to know that What is Grand is necessarily obscure to Weak men. That which can be made Explicit to the Idiot is not worth my care. The wisest of the Ancients consider'd what is not too Explicit as the fittest for Instruction, because it rouses the faculties to act. I name Moses, Solomon, Esop, Homer, Plato.

It is clear from the above statement that although Blake does support the eighteenth century's belief that language (when used honestly) should be clear and simple, he refuses to deceive himself with the hope of communicating with those who repress their faculties. He does not of course accept Taylor's pretentious view that sublime truths are unavailable to the "vulgar mind."[71] Even though Blake's Jerusalem, according to Altiser, "could be ranked for its obscurity with the writings of Boehme and the Kaballah, and could challenge in its dark density the most abstruse sutras of Mahayana Buddhism,"[72] Blake, the poet who agonises "to open the immortal Eyes/Of Man inwards into...Eternity" (J5:623), is hardly trying to become an elitist or tyrant of knowledge. In fact, as Frye has pointed out so clearly, Blake "despise[s] obscurity" and makes every attempt to be understood by "conscious" readers:

> It is pathetic to read his letters and see how buoyant is his hope of being understood in his own time, and how wistful is the feeling that he must depend on posterity for appreciation.... He despised obscurity, hated all kinds of mystery, and derided the idea that poets do not fully comprehend what they are writing. All his poetry was written as though it were about to have the immediate social impact of a new play.[73]

Blake uses, as Hungerford notes, the "remarkable device of symbolic equation" to overcome the obscurity of direct visionary communications from God or the Imagination. In this way, Blake "constantly explains the visionary figures which appear in his poetry and illustrations by equating them directly or indirectly with figures which are faintly recognisable from mythology, or by describing them in such a way that one perceives analogies with recognisable mythological figures."[74] The function of the visionary poet is to repair fallen man's distorted and obscure perceptions by addressing his poetry to the "Intellectual Powers" rather than to the "Corporeal Understanding" which obscures man's perception. Once fallen man's perception has been cleansed, visionary poetry no longer seems obscure, for the artist himself must be absolutely clear in his conception and articulation down to the most minute particulars. Blake argues in Annotations to Reynolds (194:473) against obscurity in the mind of the artist:"Obscurity is Neither the Source of the Sublime nor of any Thing Else." Blake does not use obscurity for obscurity's sake, as the Neoplatonists supposedly did. In fact, it is this Greek reliance on memory which obscures the imaginative vision, which is immediate and vividly real. Blake sees this practice of the Greeks to obscure vision by spectrous reasoning as a part of the degeneracy of their civilization.

Blake's statements that "Man is Born Like a Garden ready Planted & Sown" and "This World is too poor to produce one Seed" (Anno. to Reynolds 157:471) show that he believes man carries within himself a great deal more than is distortedly reflected in the fallen world. This view of his is undoubtedly a rebuttal of Locke's position in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and is similar enough to that of Taylor to cause Blake to be associated with him. Locke's book was probably the most influential work of the eighteenth century, and, as Harper suggests, "It might be argued that the philosophic beginning and still the most important aspect of the Romantic movement is the late eighteenth century rejection of John Locke's theory of knowledge...."[75] Locke, like Bacon and Newton, was one of the "founders of modern philosophy." Locke's book contains the most important arguments of the Deists' cause (which will be discussed more fully in connection with *Europe* later in this section). The most important statement of Locke was that man receives all his knowledge from his sense impressions:

> There are no innate principles of knowledge, and particularly no innate speculative principles. The mind is like white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas, and the materials of its reason and Knowledge are derived from experience, in which all our knowledge is founded and ultimately obtained.[76]

For, Locke the soul is a mere *rasa tabula*, a blank to be mechanically filled. By contrast, the Neoplatonists (in whom Blake may have found some support in his rebuttal of Locke's views) maintain that man essentially contains the reason of things and breathes, as it were,the knowledge of them. Plato's view is that the soul is an ever-written tablet, a plenitude of forms, a vital and intellectual energy.

This view of the innateness of knowledge is also linked to Plato and to Blake's theory of forms. Here again, though Blake may have been influenced by Neoplatonist statements such as "Forms or ideas leap into matter, which is adapted by the exemplar of the universe to receive the images of them, and like a mirror give back the influx of the ideas which it receives,"[77] Blake's belief that "There Exist in that Eternal World the Permanent Realities of Every Thing which we see reflected in this Vegetable Glass of Nature" (VLJ 69-70:605) is derived from deep foundations in his own understanding of man and does not necessarily depend on Plato's view. To Plato, Nature is merely an imperfect manifestation of the ideal, since the phenomenal world is patterned upon, and once removed from, eternal forms. Blake's belief stems from his understanding of the Imagination, which is "the real & eternal World of which this Vegetable Universe is but a faint shadow" (J 77:717). The Imagination alone can make man "Infinite & Eternal " (VLJ 69-70:605) by awakening his senses and body parts to the remoteness or fallenness around them and to a renewed desire for oneness. But if fallen man can see only the ratio, the tyranny of the tyrant, which rules by division, then every facet of life which he beholds is a reflection of his divided state, and becomes a remote, objective presence not a "[Man] Seen Afar." What fallen man fails to see is that Nature is only a shadow of the eternal world, not a world in itself. Blake anticipates Coleridge's belief that "In looking at objects of Nature...I seem rather to be seeking, as it were asking for, a symbolical language for something within me that already and forever exists, than observing anything new."[78] Therefore, the mind is not a tabula rasa where natural impressions are imprinted; rather, it is the mind's activities which are reflected by nature, so that what we knew as external or objective nature is a projection of fallen man, it is our own body turned inside out. This is also why Blake can say that the "green & pleasant Land" (M1:481) of England is but a "Shadow" to the "Substance" of the "Heavenly Canaan" (J 71:709) and will only become real when Jerusalem, the spiritual city, is built through "Mental Fight" in the heart of this natural land. This false Lockean belief that man receives his impressions from Nature derives from Deism and Druidism which make man forget "that All Deities reside in the human breast."

Blake's attitude to the Greek civilisation and its impact on the Europe of his day is based on his distinction between an imaginative Greece and one founded in reasoning abstraction. For Blake European civilisation is an Orc cycle, and hence he speaks with enthusiasm, in the early part of the Orc cycle, of "the immense flood of Grecian light & glory which is coming on Europe..." (Letter to George Cumberland, 2 July 1800).[79] And in the second letter to Dr. Trusler (23 August 1799), he asserts that Greek art, as well as the Bible, is "addressed to the Imagination, which is Spiritual Sensation, & but mediately to the Understanding or Reason." He also considers the gods of the Greeks and Hebrews allies in the spiritual war he was waging against eighteenth century commercialism and materialism and associates the wisest Greeks with the wisest Hebrews. Furthermore, speaking of the imaginative period of Greek civilization, he suggests that "the Hebrew Bible & the Greek Gospel are Genuine, Preserv'd by the Saviour's Mercy" and that "the Greek Fables " which he was later to malign so much, "originated in Spiritual Mystery & Real Visions." But he observes that in his own age the Greek visions have become "lost & clouded in Fable & Allegory" (VLJ 71-72:605).

This latter distinction between fable or allegory, and imagination, an account of the abstraction of "forms of worship from poetic tales," is Blake's comment on the decline of the Orc cycle in every civilization, but it is expressed in a way which applies particularly well to the Greeks. Blake's deep admiration for the beauty of Greek sculpture did not prevent him from rejecting (as late accretions added after the original symbolism had been lost) the fables which he believed that the Greeks had attached to the statues, associating them with heroes and false gods. Moreover, the possibility of "the Greek Fables having originated in spiritual Mystery & Real Visions," led Blake to believe that fable itself might be a corruption of original symbol. Hence he could say that Apuleius' Golden Ass and Ovid's Metamorphosis contained "Vision in a sublime degree, being derived from real Vision in More ancient Writings" (VLJ 79:607).

Having made the distinction between the true Greek art derived from Inspiration and the corrupt Greek art based on Memory or Mnemosyne, Blake attacked the powerful influence of the latter. Though he admits in A Descriptive Catalogue (III:571) that "Visions of...eternal principles or characters of human life appear to poets, in all ages" and that "the Grecian gods were ancient Cherubim of Phoenicia," he observes that:

> "the Greeks, and since them the Moderns, have neglected to subdue the gods of Priam. These gods are visions of the eternal attributes, or divine names, which, when erected into gods, become destructive to humanity. They ought to be the servants, and not the masters of man, or of society. They ought to be made to sacrifice to Man, and not man compelled to sacrifice to them; for when separated from man or humanity, who is Jesus the Saviour, the vine of eternity, they are thieves and rebels, they are destroyers."

This is the Greece which focuses upon the state rather than upon the individual: in particular, it focuses upon the social and political duties of the citizen (that is, the militaristic culture). It is "The Classics... & not Goths nor Monks, that Desolate Europe with Wars" (On Homer's Poetry: 778); tyranny that leads to war between the tyrant and enslaved humanity therefore comes from the Greeks. A "Warlike State," says Blake, can never "produce Art": such a state can only "Rob & Plunder & accumulate into one place, & Translate & Copy & Buy & Sell & Criticise, but not Make" (On Virgil: 778). Art, man's freedom, can only be produced when the Contraries are respected:

> But your Greek Philosophy (which is a remnant of Druidism) teaches that Man is Righteous in his Vegetated Spectre : an Opinion of fatal & accursed consequence to Man, as the Ancients saw plainly by Revelation, to the intire abrogation of Experimental Theory; and many believed what they saw and Prophecied of Jesus.
>
> (J 52:682)

Jupiter reigns over a decadent civilisation as "an iron-hearted tyrant, the ruiner of ancient Greece" (Letter to Hayley, 23 October 1804). Moreover, prophecy in ancient Greece relinquished its role of spreading the imaginative vision and laid itself down beneath the tree of good and evil. Thus, although Socrates, who, Frye suggests, was "The only man resembling a prophet" (but even he "never questioned war or the structure of his society"[89]), is seen by Blake (for example in the illustration to *Jerusalem* 93:740) as a martyr to the threefold Accuser. He is also at best an ironic Jesus figure: "If Morality was Christianity, Socrates was the Saviour" (The Laocoon: 775).

The period of debased Greek art and philosophy was a time when memory served as the foundation of Greek civilization, and Blake was to say of it that "No man can believe that either Homer's Mythology, or Ovid's, were the production of Greece or of Latium," nor, as pointed out earlier, could "the Greek statues" be "the invention of Greek Artists." It is then not possible for Blake to see how the Greeks of history could have been responsible for "such sublime conceptions" (DC 2:565-566). For Blake, the Greek attempt, on the one hand, to remember and plagiarize results only in forgetting. The Hebrew visions, on the other hand, are authentic because they are spontaneous and playful. The Greeks lost their divine spirit of play, and therefore the visionary aspect of their mythology, when and to the extent that they perverted ancient vision to "Allegoric Fable." The aesthetic principle of Memory is only State Religion. The Greek civilization reached its nadir with its insistence on "Mathematical Diagrams," and history had to be wrested from Grecian control over the European mind by the birth of "the secret child" in Europe (4:239).

The history of fourfold man shifts now to the actual lifetime of Blake, and it reflects the hope and despair which people like Blake, who believed firmly in an apocalypse, felt during that crucial period of dissent and revolution. Blake's lifespan corresponds with some of the most violent and cataclysmic events of English history. During this period England was involved in the Seven Years' War, the twenty five years' war with France, the American War of Independence, and the Napoleonic Wars. Moreover, as observed earlier, industry moved to the factory, farming enlarged its scale, and iron and coal gave England a new skeleton. The population doubled from seven to fourteen million people. Living in the heart of the revolutionary world of the skilled London craftsmen where "Dissent was being preached by Dealers in Old Clothes, Grinders, Sheep-Head Sellers, Church-painters, Manglemakers, Footmen, Toothdrawers, Perukemakers, Phlebotonists, Breeches-makers, and Coalheavers,"[81] Blake found it easy to believe that events occurring in the latter decades of the eighteenth century fitted in well with his belief that the Orc cycles with their self-generated tyranny had come to the final stage of history. This is the time when man's latent prophetic power would destroy tyrannous error and create truth. The final Orc revolution was to be the last, not only for England, France, and America; it was to generate the activity and social action that would return lost Edenic freedom to Asia and Africa as well. Now "the Eternal Hell revives" (MHH 3:149), the age of the prophet has come to pass, and Los's imaginative activity will counteract the Druidic conception of good and evil by preaching the doctrine of the contraries. This is the "great moment in time" when the imaginative eye can see " a world in a grain of sand," when chronological time and space, which is history, disappears from visionary perception. It is in this context that Blake shares Wordsworth's view that "bliss was it in that dawn to be alive" (The Prelude X1,108), and that he can call on "Earth" to "return" and arise [illegible] her six thousand years of slumber ("Introduction," SE:219).

This is also the context in which Blake's so-called historical poems, *Europe*, *America*, and *The French Revolution* were written, for these poems comment on the final phase of the Orc cycle. Moreover, all of the actual events which occur in these countries are seen as integrally bound to one another: they are all part of the process of history, the error which will finally be revealed in Europe where the Sabbath of history begins and ends. As pointed out earlier, Blake assumes that his readers are aware that there was an immense dissatisfaction with the traditional structure in Europe during the latter half of the eighteenth century and that every form of tyranny, whether monarchical authority, priestly control, scientific mechanism or sexual chains, was brought under close scrutiny. It seemed as if the "old mountains of France" and England were indeed fading away. Dr. Richard Price's view that "The times are auspicious" was held in common by a large number of people in France and England. In France, Voltaire and Rousseau attacked the established control of the Church and State and called upon downtrodden Frenchmen to unite against these "beasts of prey."[82] In England, the English insisted upon their right to free speech. Particularly arousing was the case of John Wilkes and his fiery editorials in the North Briton. When George III banned Wilkes'editorials, the citizen saw this action as an indication of the King's wish to prevent free speech and a general outcry ensued for civic and Parliamentary reform, freedom of the press, freedom from the press gangs, a larger loaf, and solidarity with the "Liberty Boys" of Boston and Philadelphia. For nearly a decade the London tradesmen and artisans demonstrated for Wilkes at the hustings and dragged him in triumph through the streets whenever he was victorious. Often these demonstrations turned into riots.

Blake shared this spirit of radicalism, and as early as the *Poetical Sketches* and *An Island in the Moon*, he positioned himself against tyranny and demonstrated his intense abhorrence for war-making Kings. Thus in "Gwin, King of Norway" (PS:11), Blake announced that a situation where "The Nobles of the land did feed/Upon the hungry Poor" would not be tolerated forever and that soon the Gwins of every age would be humbled and the blood of revenge would flow. In the "Prologue to King Edward the Fourth" (PS:33), Blake blamed the Kings and nobles for the "throat of war," for the mutual destruction of the oppressed, and, in fact, for the fall of man. And in the "Prologue to King John" (PS:34), Blake stated that it was the Tyranny of King John that caused the "aged fathers" to "gird themselves for war," the "sucking infant lives to die in battle," and brothers to pour the blood of brothers over the entire nation. But as in "Gwin" the warning is clear:

> Beware, O Proud! thou shalt be humbled; thy cruel brow, thine iron heart is smitten, though lingering Fate is slow. O yet may Albion smile again, and stretch her peaceful arms, and raise her golden head, exultingly! Her citizens shall throng about her gates, her mariners shall sing upon the sea, and myriads shall to her temples crowd! Her sons shall joy as in the morning! Her daughters sing as to the rising year!

Blake's warning is clear to those who oppress people: if people continue to be denied their freedom, the result will be revolution, a revolution that grows not out of what Paine has said but which is a consequence of the Orc cycle.

In "King Edward III," as Erdman has pointed out so well,[83] reverberations of events that were occurring (or had occurred) in the American revolution are heard. King Edward justifies unnecessary invasion of foreign lands as a romantic wandering "from our native seats" that "beam forth lustre on a darkling world" (PS:18). Blake treats the established Church and her priests with contempt because as the sole, but very poor, representative of the humanistic tradition of Christ, the Church turns against all His teachings by supporting causes which strengthen her earthly position at the expense of man. Therefore the Bishop argues that warfare is important for the industrial development of England and "If Industry is in my diocese,/Religion will flourish" (PS:19). In fact, the Bishop supports Edward's invasion of France because "England is the land favour'd by Commerce." The poem is filled with irony, the irony of a poet who condemns kings and nations who repress people at home or abroad. The poem ends with an ironical song of joy, "Our sons shall rise from thrones in joy,/ Each one buckling on his armour," and liberty, "Liberty shall stand upon the cliffs of Albion,/Casting her blue eyes over the green ocean," a liberty which of course is false in a Blakean context.

The Songs of Innocence, the Songs of Experience, the Visions of the Daughters of Albion, and The Marriage of Heaven and Hell reverberate with Blake's defiance of repressive terrors and his insistent call upon enslaved man to free himself. The last prose passage in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (25-27:159), "A Song of Liberty," not only expresses Blake's feeling that revolution will triumph, but also links the narrative of the European cycle to the rest of the story of world history. "A Song of Liberty" announces that in the European cycle of history, history will be destroyed forever.

Hence "The Eternal Female," another enslaved mother like that of "Earth's Answer" (SE:210), is groaning, and the same command to "Break [the] heavy chain" is passed on to the oppressed French: "France, rend down thy dungeon!" The French are encouraged further by "the new born fire" from America, who until now had been "barr'd out by the atlantic sea." The young "terrbr" challenges "the gloomy King" Urizen who leads "his starry hosts thro' the waste wilderness" where he "promulgates his ten commands." Orc, "Spurning the clouds written with curses, stamps the stony law to dust, loosing the eternal horses from the dens of night," and he cries defiantly and triumphantly that "EMPIRE IS NO MORE! AND NOW THE LION & WOLF SHALL CEASE." "A Song of Liberty" also treats history as a whole that stretches over the four continents: Blake calls not only upon the European masses to follow the American example, but he asks the "Jew" (the Asian) to "leave counting gold" (to forego his trading habits) and to "return to thy oil and wine" and the "black African" to "widen his forehead."

The themes of "A Song of Liberty" are also the chief subjects of _Europe_, _America_, and _The French Revolution_, which cover the European or Christian phase of history (the hoped-for last Orc cycle). Since all of these poems form the composite whole of the European epoch of Blake's narrative, it can be suggested that the poems follow the order of _Europe_-_America_-_Europe_-_The French Revolution_.[84] Much of _Europe_ tells the history of Christian Europe which by Blake's time had endured for eighteen hundred years. The poem is both a backward look to see what had happened to European civilization since "the secret" Christ child "Descended thro' the orient gates of the eternal day" (E 4:239), and a prophecy of what is still to occur in France and Europe. Europe tells the history of man in the European phase of the Orc cycle. The poem deals with the domination of the female will, the fall of the senses, the influence of Deists, and the "devouring fiery kings." These themes of enslavement are also to be found in *America* and *The French Revolution*. Just as Europe is peripheral to the history of the fall of Albion in Beulah, so are England, America (Americans at this time being English settlers), and France peripheral to the history of Europe in Blake's time. *Europe* stands not only by itself as a poem, it also carries the weight of Blake's narrative and ought to be read in this context.

Europe includes most of the major themes found in *Jerusalem* (the poem that "incorporates themes from Blake's other 'prophetic' works").[85] The fact that the two poems develop the same themes is undoubtedly Blake's way of demonstrating to fallen man that the history of Error is the same whether discussed in his earlier or later work. Furthermore, *Europe* employs, although to a lesser extent, the same paradoxical and ironical structure of hopeful and despairing thought and imagery that is found in *Jerusalem*. It is only by recognizing these features of *Europe* that the "difficulties" of the poem can be overcome.

Damon calls *Europe* "the dark night of the soul," a period of "illusion" and "sterility" in the history of mankind.[86] Tolley observes the whole atmosphere of doom which prevails in the poem and contends that "The beings in *Europe*, with the equivocal exception of the nameless shadowy female, seem ignorant of futurity! they are chained by the past, or act blindly in the present."[87] He remarks further that "There are some joyful forms in both the text and the designs of *Europe*, but we find more that are horrific or depressing."[88] Stevenson sees *Europe* as a poem of "gloom,"[89] and Keynes notes that "Spiritual freedom should have come with the Christian era [that is in Europe], but Enitharmon's sway made this impossible."[90] When one looks at the illustrations on *Europe*, there is little doubt that this magnificent book of Blake carries in it some of Blake's most horrible and terrifying symbols of deceit and oppression, a fact which gives force to support the pessimism that some of Blake's critics have found in the poem. Title-page B has a great coiling serpent rearing his head, and on one of the two proofs of the print there is a figure of Urizen with his book of laws riding the serpent as a chariot, and on the other a naked youth struggling with the serpent.[91] All of these forms of enslavment are present in *Europe* (10:241-2), the nadir of Error. Plate one has an assassin with a dagger lurking in a cave and below a human head wrapped in serpent coils; in plate two, there is a naked despairing figure and below there is a contorted figure throttling two others; plate five has an awesome, black scaly figure with his sword in his hand ready to make war; plate six has as one of its motifs a child's body which, according to Keynes, is being prepared for cooking in a cauldron steaming over a fire; then in plate ten the priest of organized religion, like his master Urizen, holds his book of prohibitions on his knee, wears a triple mitre, and has the ears and wings of a bat; in plate twelve

FAINT LETTERING

there is a pathetic girl, enmeshed by spider-threads, who, out of despair, prays, her face turned upward; plate thirteen has a naked youth, his ankles fettered to the floor while his jailor ascends stone steps with a huge key in his hand.

The magnificent frontispiece of Europe sums up and introduces many of the themes of the poem. The frontispiece shows God or Urizen or Newton as a naked ancient man kneeling with his left foot forward in a crimson orb surrounded by heavy clouds. His long hair is swept to his right by a strong wind, as if he were King Lear, while he reaches down into the void with his left arm, the hand holding a huge pair of compasses.[92] Several Blake critics have commented both on the sources and significance of the "Ancient of Days" illustration which could have been borrowed from Milton's Paradise Lost, the Book of Proverbs, Andrew Motte's portrait of Newton, or be a composite view of several or all of these.[93] As already observed, Blake is an eclectic and whether he borrowed or not is not the important question. What is of significance is the meaning and use of this figure in his work. Living at a time when Newton's philosophy held particular sway in all forms of living, Blake no doubt had him in mind as a model for the fallen demiurge, Urizen, who with his "line and plummet" and "golden compasses" is constructing the Eighteenth century's world of abstract categories. This is the world which Blake views as repressing man's divine nature. Urizen's act of drawing the world is a confirmation of the work of his priests (in the three historical poems under discussion Urizen's disciples and spokesmen are Newton, Albion's Angel, and Enitharmon) and is comparable to his claim in The Four Zoas that "I am God from Eternity to Eternity." Because this is the final cycle of history, Urizen is not only drawing a narrowing circle, as he has done six times before, but he is in fact fashioning the "white dot" of Satanic abstraction. This is an ironically true realization by him that the search for "the solid without fluctuation" (BU 4:224), which originally caused his fall in Beulah, has finally come to an end, but not in the way he imagines. The irony of this belief of Urizen is commented upon by Blake in several instances. In The Four Zoas, Urizen's boast is followed by war as those whom he has enslaved perpetually challenge his authority; war, after all, is energy enslaved. In Europe (13:243), Newton frustrates Urizen's plan by seizing "the trump & blow[ing] the enormous blast," just as in America (15:202) the plagues that Albion's Angel unleashes to destroy the rebels boomerang to destroy Albion's Angel instead. All of Blake's poetry is fashioned in this manner of ironical contrast, what is intended often turns paradoxically against the intention. Erdman's discussion of the contrasting designs, "'Our End is Come'" and "Albion rose from where he labourd at the Mill with Slaves," provides another ironical view of Urizen's declaration.[94] The Illustration of "Our End is Come" shows an hysterical king, flanked by two chief warriors who grip sword and spear, standing inside a threshold enveloped in flames. This design is used by Blake on several occasions and most notably as the frontispiece to The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. The action of the king, in "Our End is Come," contrasts with the rise of Orc, the patriot, in "Albion rose...."

Hence, even while Urizen boasts that the end of revolution and imagination has come, Orc is challenging Urizen's authority.

The frontispiece or the motto or the argument to a Blake poem or design often shows the intention of the poet as he either summarizes the meaning of the work or comments ironically on it. Therefore the figure of Los with his lamp, in the frontispiece of *Jerusalem*, tells in many ways the story of *Jerusalem*. In the same manner does Urizen's awesome presence with his compass in Europe suggest the power of enslavement that he has over man, for Urizen is the figure with whom frustrated artist and rebellious man must do battle. An indication of this battle, and also of the ironical pose that Urizen is in, is given in the first pencil sketch of the design in the *Note-Book* where the legend "And who shall bind the Infinite" is added. Since this line reappears at the end of the Preludium to *Europe* (2:239), "And who shall bind the infinite with an eternal band?," and as so much of *Europe* is concerned with the soul-body argument of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, the Urizen frontispiece ironically implies Urizen's failure.

There are many examples in *Europe* of Blake's ironical technique; together with the illustrations these examples explain the baffling parts of the poem. The "Preludium" opposes Freedom to Hypocrisy, showing that "the cavern'd Man"(the man who has been driven into his reasoning false body by Urizen's compasses) chooses to ignore his five senses through which he can receive light and life, and like the sick rose("The Sick Rose,"*SE*:213) he opts "For stolen joys [which] are sweet" and finds that "bread eaten in secret" is "pleasant" (Eiii: 237). The result of this enslavement of energy is the birth of "howling terrors, all devouring fiery kings" (E 1-2:238). In the *Prophecy*, there is the birth of Christ in the deep of Winter (E4: 239), a traditional, paradoxical occurence found in the Miracle plays of medieval and Tudor times, and there is also reference to pagan ritual, where such a hope appeared in the darkness of Winter. Milton's *Hymn* (29-34) expresses these feelings:

> It was the winter wild
> While the Heav'n-born child
> All meanly wrapped in the rude manger lies,
> Nature in awe to him
> Had doffed her gaudy trim,
> With her great Master so to sympathise.

In contrast to this hopeful feeling, *Europe* (4, 9-28:239; 15, 9-11: 245) expresses the gloom of the opposition to Freedom (Orc-Los) of Restriction (Urizen), Enitharmon's perverse joy and her "Forbidding of all joy" (E5:240), Newton's drawing of circles of restriction, and his boasting of these circles (E 13:243). Thus juxtaposed can be found man's despair and his hope. This is also true of the designs to *Europe*. Although many of the illustrations are gloomy and many figures seem desperately imprisoned in their caverned world, yet there are many birds and figures in unexpected places that aspire upwards; even the pathetic looking girl on plate twelve has her face turned upward in hope.
The gloom of plate one of the "Preludium," with its assassin, coiling tendrils, insects, and serpent coils, is counteracted by the man with the walking stick and a load strapped on his back making his pilgrimage

through the ugliness of life and keeping the divine vision in troubled times. In plate three, birds and small figures fly and float among the lines of text, even though the plate is dominated by a winged female who has "snaky hair" (here, as well, the act of shaking out hair could be seen as the attempt to rid herself of her "snaky hair") and by a figure crouching in an orb. Plate four shows the naked form of a woman lifting a covering from a sleeping young man (according to Keynes the woman is Enitharmon and the young man is Orc). There are flames of revolution rising from his hair, and to support this posture of rebellion the plate is filled with children sporting in revelry. But there is also a tumbling figure present to continue Blake's technique of hope and despair. Finally, the horrifying portrait of the dark, scaly figure with a sword in his left hand, obviously ready for war, is softened by the presence of two winged angels of compassion.

The image of "the secret child," born in a time of hopelessness and despair in the night of Enitharmon's "female dream" of female exploitation of males (E 9:240), is contrasted paradoxically with the power of the "Ancient of Days," and much of Europe and in fact the meaning of America and The French Revolution depends on this polarity. The "secret child" is Jesus Christ, who demonstrates the following contrasts to Urizen or the false Creator who is called by the priests the God of Genesis: Urizen creates the false world with his compasses and Jesus Christ is born to reveal his falsehood; Urizen gives a false body or Error to his creation and Christ puts the false body off always; Urizen is Nobodaddy who "thumps" man on his head, while Jesus Christ is the Healer who comes with a balm; Urizen's religion is carried out in secrecy in temples while the religion of Christ, imaginative activity, is carried out openly (when self-preservation does not require that it go underground). On the second level of contrast the explanation of the first four lines of *Europe* and in fact the rest of the historical narrative depends. The actual history of Christianity in Europe does not occur until after Christ is crucified on Golgotha. As observed earlier, for Blake, the poet who is writing the "Bible of Hell," the death of Christ is not an atonement for man's sin as the orthodox view understands it to be. Los says: "Must the Wise die for an Atonement? does Mercy endure Atonement?/No!It is Moral Severity & destroys Mercy in its Victim" (J 39:666). The death and resurrection of Christ is the divesting of the Body of Error, the cutting off and separation of the material, outward body so "that the Spiritual body may be Reveal'd" (FZ 8:348). This act of Christ is the deliverance of "the sleeping body" (M 14:495), "the death of the Vegetated body" (VLJ 69-70:605), and it demonstrates that "The Natural Body is an Obstruction to the Soul or Spiritual Body" (Anno. to Berkley 218:775). Unfortunately, man is so much a product of the deceptive and indoctrinated teachings of the Pharisees of society that this essential act of Christ is either ignored or misinterpreted. In the words of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (5-6:149), man is weak enough to have his "desire" restrained by "the restrainer or reason." In this case, the "restrainer" is the Christian Church, which in this age is the chief custodian of Christ's spirit and meaning, but, which like Urizen, finds it more comfortable to ignore the meaning of Christ's action on the cross and to obstruct the spirit which Christ had revealed by placing another body of Error on His spirit. This is an act of codification and abstraction, an act which Blake describes as crucifying "Christ with the Head Downwards" (VLJ 87:615) and as enslaving "the vulgar by attempting to realise or abstract the mental deities from their objects." In this way man is made to forget "that All deities reside in the human breast" (MHH 11:153).

Furthermore, the Church now preaches the second coming of Christ (particularly the outward, visible form of the drama as observed so often in Christmas rituals) as a way of keeping the flock together and resorts to the usual habit of offering rewards in an allegorical abode. This promise by the Church ensures complete obedience and loyalty to the institution and man's heavenly salvation is often predicated on his pious acts in this world. But as Blake warns,

> "Men are admitted into Heaven not because they have curbed & govern'd their Passions or have No Passions, but because they have Cultivated their Understandings " [and that] "The Fool shall not enter into Heaven let him be ever so Holy. Holiness is not The Price of Enterance into Heaven."
> (VLJ87:615)

What has happened then is that the Error-filled body which Christ shed on the cross has now been replaced with another Error-filled body, except that in a Blakean context it is more powerful in its obstruction of the spirit or truth in man's bosom. This is also the reason why much of the contention in Europe between the restrictive and the liberating forces is reminiscent of the clash between the Devourer and the Prolific in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (15-17:155) and why Enitharmon's sleeping body and Albion's body that has its five senses closed have to be cleansed and reawakened to see the spirit of Christ.

Europe (4:239) does not proclaim a dramatic second coming, the descending act of the Christ child is but the reaffirmation that even in the midst of hopelessness and despair the spirit which Christ once revealed by dying on the cross has never been fully obliterated by Urizen's philosophy of the Selfhood.[95] Just as the "four living creatures" (the four zoas or attributes of man), though badly corrupted, never die but are always on hand to reintegrate man, so, too, does the spirit of Christ live within this corrupt world and body until such time that man is ready to overthrow "the restrainer" and to take his salvation in his own hands. Christ died to ensure that the battle against the "Imposture"is never relinquished (Anno. to Watson 4-5:387) and "to deliver those who [are] bound under the Knave,...to deliver Man, the Accused, & not Satan, the Accuser" (VLJ 86,90:615). Hence the orthodox view that there will be a dramatic, one-time, second coming of Christ is incorrect.

The poem's reference to "the secret child" descending is to the fact that this is the epoch of Christ, the "Seventh Eye of God," the epoch when Error will finally reveal itself and man will stop choosing it. This signals the end of the six thousand years of anti-Christ history, when the seven days of creation are complete and cease to be analoguus to the seven millennia because they are one identity, and when, as Rose observes, "Historical time, therefore, becomes divine because it has always been analogous to eternal time."[96] This is the epoch of Jesus who breaks "thro' the Central Zones of Death & Hell" and who "Opens Eternity in Time & Space, triumphant in Mercy" (J 76:716). Jesus turns the inside outside and manifests eternity in time and infinity in space. "Jesus," says Blake, "came to Remove...the Heathen or Platonic Philosophy, which blinds the Eye of Imagination, The Real Man" (Anno. to Berkeley 241:775). Jesus demonstrates the true meaning of his spiritual reincarnation as man, a meaning which the Pharisees of the society prefer to ignore. His arrival in man's midst is to put an end to "War," to force "all the troops" to flee from their war-like encampments to seek refuge in "their peaceful abodes" (E 4:239). Jesus comes to oppose Enitharmon's "female dream," which envisions in her "crystal house" of deluded love a European civilization totally dominated by her false theory of sexual love. He demonstrates, as well, as noticed by the fearful "sons of Urizen" who wish to receive "bliss" from "the sparkling wine of Los" and long to "laugh at war" (E 4:239), that Urizen's tyrannic control of man is not impregnable. Therefore, this is not merely the period of history when Urizen will complete his domination of man, nor is it simply Blake's final call on Orc to take vengeance on Urizen for the long period of man's enslavement. But it is in fact "the peaceful night" (E4:239) of Los, the creative moment or still point when Jesus, Los, and Albion identify as the fourfold man, and when Los, Jesus' chief disciple in every age, is called upon to hammer away the selfhood bodies and to reveal the inner spirit of Christ. Los is, in fact, the Milton of the old Prophecy that he recalls (M20:503), the Poet-Prophet who releases Orc from his chains and sets free Orc's creativity, energy, desire, and rebellion. Los has shed his dark vision of "Africa" (SL 3-4:245-246), the fear of Orc and Orc's consequent enchainment, and he can see now "in the hour of bliss," the hour of "the secret child's" descent, a new Orc whose head he is prepared to "crown... with garlands of the ruddy vine" (E 4:239). With Orc's help (that is with the help of Orc's revolutionary spirit) Los can labour to complete his work of destroying the tyranny of Urizen.

Although the Imagination is at work in every age, it becomes overt during this epoch of Christ. It grows "silently" until Blake's time when the environment and Blake's own narrative suggest that the end of despair has come. Blake is not as yet abandoning the confrontation which existed between Urizen and Orc in the other six cycles, nor is he giving up the position he takes in America. Blake, even in Jerusalem, never abandons confrontation as an aspect of his belief. He transfers much of Orc's revolutionary power to Los (it must be remembered that Jesus is the third member of the Luvah-Orc-Jesus zoa, and as Los takes on Jesus' spirit he is taking on Orc's revolutionary zeal as well). Los's work is "silent" and "patient" because the imaginative work does not depend on "exhibition" ("The outward Ceremony is Antichrist," The Laocoön:776). The objective of Los's imaginative Work is to reestablish the world of contraries, rather than to create through haste the kind of warfare that Calvin and Luther did (M 23:507-508). This is why Blake abhors the outward display of the ritual of Christianity and condemns it as anti-Christ. The imaginative man, as in the case of Jesus, does not rely on outward confrontation alone to complete his task. However, as Blake is soon to teach Los, and as Jesus did by throwing out the gamblers in the temple and by dying in public, the imaginative activity to be "successful" in a fallen world must also be prepared to assume the public, revolutionary rôle of Orc. Therefore, the silence at the beginning of the poem is replaced by Los calling "all his sons to the strife of blood":

> Then Los arose: his head he rear'd in snaky thunders clad;
> And with a cry that shook all nature to the utmost pole,
> Call'd all his sons to the strife of blood.
>
> (E 15:245)

The "snaky," confrontation aspect of Orc, as noted earlier, is a beginning only; the revolutionary zeal must now reach the centrality of Los's being (Los's ability to transform Error into Truth) and then protest will create apocalypse and Orc will be defined by Los, not Urizen. Los needs the revolutionary state of Orc to reveal the hard shell of tyranny. Once Los has grown in this revolutionary spirit of Orc-Christ, and when he has undergone the purification rites of the poet as Milton in Milton (that is, restoring the poet to "the Devil's party") and has succeeded in divesting himself of his spectre as in Jerusalem, then he is ready to pursue the "Eternal task." He can now create a true poem, be a true poet, and can open "the Eternal Worlds" and "the Immortal Eyes" of man so that man can recognize "the Human Imagination" in his own bosom (J 5:623). This is what is meant by the thought to enter "the bosom of death." Los, as the identity Orc-Jesus-Los, must cast off "the scarlet robe," the natural body of man, the Error. He must find the real man, the spiritual body manifested by acts of freedom that fulfill the self, recreate man. At the end of Europe, Los's resolve is not to seek vengeance and warfare in the vineyards of France, but to search for Truth, to create Vision, to break down "ancient" systems of thought that have long enslaved mankind. In the true spirit of Christ, the artist who replaces vengeance and sacrifice of others by forgiveness of sins and self-sacrifice, Los-Blake will not be disappointed so much by the defeat of Orc (or rather the reduction of Orc to Napoleon) by counterrevolutionary forces in France. Instead they will turn to that which Los-Blake or the Imagination stands for.[97] Because the defeat of Orc in France is meant to encase fallen man further in his cavern or body, Los is forced to continue the struggle against the forces of tyranny.

In Europe, Los's struggle to maintain the regenerative vision of "the secret child" is threatened by the establishment of the female will culture, the most pernicious Error that fallen Albion must contend with and the one which has preoccupied all poets in every Orc cycle and which Blake gives a great deal of attention to throughout his work.[98] The dominence of the female will is proclaimed by Enitharmon. Enitharmon assumes confidently that this has always been the way man has been governed and that in the European cycle of history there will be no change. She believes that "Woman, ... [has] dominion" (E 5:240) and she attempts to reduce the power and hope of the new Orc cycle (E 4:239) to abstraction, to falsehood. It is in The Song of Los (3-4:245-246) that Los observes the spreading of abstract Law and abstract religion which reduce man to a "narrow doleful form." These false laws and religions are spread by Rintrah and Palamabron (Los and Enitharmon's sons), and the laws separate man from his passions. The fact that Palamabron is described in Europe (8:240) as a "horned priest" signifies both his relationship to sex and that he is a restrictive influence (as the priests commonly are) on the use of passion as an integral part of love. Since the Orc cycle is a repetition of historical events in each age, Enitharmon commands her sons to teach mankind the same lesson as before: "that Woman's love is Sin" and that by worshipping virginity man will be rewarded with "Eternal life" in "an allegorical abode where existence hath never come" (E5:240). It is this system of false love and enslavement that the "nameless shadowy female" (E 1-2:238) protests. She is aware that Enitharmon's intention is, as it has been before, to "Stamp...with solid form" the "vig'rous progeny of fires" (E2:238). These are the Orc "fires" of the Jesus epoch which have come to "light" the "Five windows" of "the cavern'd Man" (E iii:237). The "nameless shadowy female" questions the unjust situation which she is in; a cruel process where she cannot offer her love even though she has been prepared for it:

> My roots are brandish'd in the heavens, my fruits in earth beneath
> Surge, foam and labour into life, first born & first consum'd!
> Consumed and consuming!
> Then why shouldst thou, accursed mother, bring me into life?
>
> (E 1:238)

Her cry is similar to Oothoon's, as will be seen in the discussion of the Visions of the Daughters of Albion. Her cry is of anguish and despair at the denial of her own desire, liberty. This anguish and despair turn into inner peace when she realizes that in the Jesus epoch of history it is not possible anymore to "bind" the "infinite," the Christ child. Regeneration cannot be held back forever; thus her "shady clouds," not dark clouds any longer, go "Into the secret place" (E 2:239), the place of sex, to await the soon-to-come end of the domination of the female will.

Enitharmon ignores "the nameless shadowy female's" vision. Her response is to continue in her religion of self-deluded love and fierce jealousy. She believes as Vala does when she claims to Albion that if you

> Set your Son before a man...he shall take you & your sons
> 'For slaves; but set your Daughter before a man & She
> Shall make him & his sons & daughters your slaves for ever.'
>
> (J 31:658)

Hence she calls not only upon Palamabron and Rintrah to preach her abstract code of destruction, she instructs their emanations, Elynittria (who is a "silver bowed queen," a Diana figure emblematic of religious chastity and a goddess of sexual jealousy) and Ocalythron (referred to in both Europe and Milton 10:491 as being jealous) to spread jealousy instead of love. In Jerusalem (64:698) Enitharmon turns into a fully vegetated and idolized female, Vala, and in her separation from her male counterpart she is reduced to a demoness, who embodies society and nature at their most destructive:

> Her Hand is a Court of Justice: her Feet two Armies in Battle:
> Storms & Pestilence in her Locks, & in her Loins Earthquake
> And Fire & the Ruin of Cities & Nations & Families & Tongues.

This is what makes the Eternals shudder in terror (J 36:663). And she is Rahab, "Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Abomination of Desolation,/ Religion hid in War, a Dragon red & hidden Harlot" (J 76: 716). Now Enitharmon does not simply command; she claims that the male is but a "Female," a mere "breeder of Seed," that "The Human Divine" himself is but "Woman's Shadow, a Vapor in the summer's heat," and that man and his history are "Woman-born/And Woman-nourish'd & Woman-educated & Woman-scorn'd" (J 64:698). Europe anticipates the view in Jerusalem that European culture has always equated the body with sex: that is, the body has been seen not as an integral part of man but as an erring member on whom restrictive regulations have to be placed to make it tame and orderly. It is this ability of "Woman" to have "power over Man from Cradle to corruptible Grave" (J 34:661) which is in part responsible for man's confused and unnatural relationship to sex. This is why the discussion of the restriction of Albion's loins in energetically restoring man to the sexual condition he enjoyed in Beulah occupies such an important place in Blake's work.[99]

The Loins of Albion, the generating power of the sense of taste-touch, is where the Last Judgment is to occur, "Albion hath enter'd the Loins, the place of the Last Judgment" (J 30:656), and where man is to be reintegrated:

> What do I see! The Briton, Saxon, Roman, Norman amalgamating
> In my Furnaces into One Nation, the English, & taking refuge
> In the Loins of Albion....
>
> (J 92:739)

It is also from the loins that "all Peoples and Nations of this Earth" (FZ 2:281) fled when the Fall occurred and they scattered in all directions. Hence Enitharmon's call to her sons to teach a false theory of sex is meant to perpetuate man's confusion and Fall and to force man's sense of taste-touch into impotency. Indeed, man in all his mind-body acts is rendered impotent and reduced to sadism. Moreover, Enitharmon perpetuates another consequence of the Fall : the loins which occupy a low position in Eden because Eden is androgynous, now, in the inverted world of the Fall, occupy the highest position. The loins, as Percival remarks, become enslaved to the moral law of Urizen's head which now occupies the nadir: "Cosmic Albion has fallen with his head down; the zenith (once Urizen's quarter) has become the nadir; the head has sunk to the loins (the sexual religion has replaced the Divine Vision); heaven has descended into hell."[100]

Man's confusion about sex stems from his fall in Beulah where he had been united in Tharmas as both a male and female principle. The fallen senses of taste and touch are one in Beulah, thus preventing the division in thought and action which the Oothoons of the world, whose healthy desires are forbidden by the tyrant's disease-promoting moral system, must experience. The harmonious sexual relationship of male and female principles is the energy both of society and the individual. The very beginning of life (and hence the tongue is called "the Parent Sense," J 98:745) is destroyed when man falls. In Beulah "every Female delights to give her maiden head to her husband" (J 69:707) and

> The Female searches sea & land for gratifications to the
> Male Genius, who in return clothes her in gems & gold
> And feeds her with the food of Eden; hence all her beauty beams.

The female creates "Spaces of sweet gardens & a tent of elegant beauty" while "the Male gives a Time & Revolution to her Space/Till the time of love is passed in ever varying delights" (J 69:707). But when man falls from Beulah, people are manipulated and exploited insofar as they differ sexually, for they are now divided into sexual and other isolated pockets, categories, and so-called "individuals." Tharmas' body is rent asunder, scattering the sexual harmony of Beulah, and the process of birth, life, and death becomes an illusory object-world, unconscious, automatic, and wayward. The sense of taste-touch is now separated into two senses, and system of prohibition and repression is built around touch. Therefore, in The New Testament (Matt. 5:28), and fostered in every form of natural religion, including Christianity (Christian salvationism, according to Blake, is as bad as Jewish exclusionism, Anno. to Watson 7-8:389), the directive is clear that if man so much as covets (taste) with his eyes the body of a female, he has sinned. Natural religion is the tyrannic system of dividing, isolating, and alienating men, faciliated by the myth of the "natural man" or separate "individual," ego, or will.

The story of the sense of touch in the world of the tyrant is one of woe because everywhere Urizen's moral law is preached and enforced rigidly. The sense of taste-touch becomes "a narrow circle" (J 29:655) exemplified in both the female vagina and the noose of repression. The loins are pressed with strong brass (FZ 8:349), surrounded with arrows (M 4:484), covered with ice (J 28:652), and materialized as "a fountain of veiny pipes" (J 82:727). And the tongue "is clos'd in by deadly teeth" (J 43:672). The tongue has been closed up and mystified into accepting the deterministic world of cause and effect which discourages man from seeking regeneration. It is with this "devouring Tongue" (J 64:698), guided by Vala's sexually repressive theories, that Enitharmon pronounces the deadly message of sexual perversity

> The joy of woman is the death of her most best beloved
> Who dies for Love of her
> In torments of fierce jealousy & pangs of adoration,

(FZ 2:289)

And Enitharmon is only happy when she is able to see:

> Every house a den, every man bound: the shadows are fill'd
> With spectres, and the windows wove over with curses of iron:
> Over the doors "Thou shalt not," & over the chimneys "Fear" is written.

(E 12:243)

This is the reason why the Oothoons of the world (who are asked by Enitharmon "Why wilt thou give up woman's secrecy," E 14:244) when they discover the "window" through which man may "pass out what time he please," become the objects of tyrannic persecution, of the separation of thought from action, of taste from touch (VDA 5:192).

The *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* is Blake's fullest treatment of the question of sexual love, and Enitharmon's appeal to Oothoon in *Europe* (14:244) shows the close relationship of this poem to *Europe*. In fact, "The Argument" to the *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* links the poem to the perverse sexual morality, the secrecy, hypocrisy, and deceit, espoused by Enitharron in *Europe*. The frontispiece to the *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* reveals the chief questions in relation to perverse love that are confronted in *Europe*. In this illustration, there is the binding of a nude male figure to a nude female figure back to back. There is a chain attached to his left ankle and to hers, which, as observed in the discussion of Africa, also alludes to the slave question. In fact in the illustration on plate two this suggestion is reinforced. Here a figure which seems to be an extension of the tree of mystery lies prostrate on the ground. The allusion is both to slavery, as the figure is black and the vertical sun has made her prostrate, and also to the enslavement to unnatural laws of sex or mystery. The female figure in the frontispiece illustration has her head drooping and is clearly unhappy. Above these figures, sitting on a rock with his head buried between his legs (loins), is a third figure. All of these figures are enclosed in a rocky cave. What Blake is suggesting in the frontispiece and "The Argument" is that the rocky cave is the domain of Urizen (the illustrations to The Book of Urizen contain many rock-like forms which enclose Urizen) where man's "fountain of thought" has been enclosed in a "shaggy wild" "roof" (BU 10: 228) of restriction and sterility. Therefore, the relationship of Oothoon, Theotormon, and Bromion, which occurs in the confines of this rocky cave, must necessarily be a contradictory and antagonistic one. The three figures respond with varying amounts of imaginative and unimaginative perception to a moral law which is defunct, and in doing so they are removed from one another. Oothoon is the undying spirit of man that refuses to cower perpetually to the unjust laws of Urizen that seek to reduce humanity to static sameness. But in challenging the system, Oothoon must accept inevitable loneliness, fear, and even the doubt that comes after defying laws which have for so long unwillingly guided and enslaved her. Bromion is the ruthless enforcer of the system. He stands for law and order as devised by the controllers of the Urizenic system. Whether he hunts out "harlots" or "Stampt[s] with his signet... the swarthy children of the sun " (the slaves, VDA1:190),he demands, through violence, obedience to the system. Theotormon is the most passive of the three figures: he is the ashamed accuser. Both Theotormon and Bromion support Urizen's unjust one law for the lion and the ox, but whereas Bromion displays a violent and emotional support for the law, Theotormon is akin to the passive Angel of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. Such figures, through "a confident insolence sprouting from systematic reasoning," have "the vanity to speak of themselves as the only wise" (MHH 21-22:157). Theotormon uses restrictive reasoning processes to demand obedience to Urizen's system.

The illustrations to the Visions of the Daughters of Albion show the dilemma of Oothoon, Theotormon, and Bromion as they respond to the moral law of Urizen. The youthful figure on plate (iii), who plucks "Leutha's flower" and is ready to rise up into openness of sexual generosity, is contrasted with many illustrations of binding and imprisonment.[101] The frontispiece acts, just as the "Ancient of Days" drawing did, as a contrast to this picture of freedom. But, in addition, plate one, in showing how unnaturally Oothoon and Bromion lie after the rape scene, also suggests the obvious danger that the free-spirited woman is in. The suggestion here is that the laws of her society are designed to exploit her. Thus, like the prostitute, she is the prey of her society. But the Oothoons of the world not only have to suffer at the hands of the Bromions of the world, they also, as plate three shows, stand condemned for having dared to challenge the conventional moral system. Hence, in this illustration a bird of prey is plucking at the fallen figure's naked body. This bird of prey belongs to Theotormon, who has no compassion for Oothoon's position, but who, as a follower of Nobodaddy's laws of jealousy, spends most of his time "weeping upon the threshold"(VDA 2: 190) at the supposedly "sinful" act that Oothoon has engaged in. To Theotormon's eyes, Bromion and Oothoon are an "adulterate pair/Bound back to back in Bromion's caves." These caves of self-enslosure and mental limitation are in fact Theotormon's consciousness. He is trapped in his own "black jealous waters," and he weeps the secret tears that in Europe flow as salt tears down the steps of Enitharmon's "crystal house." Enitharmon's "crystal house" is the demonic structure of the Female Will (E 14:244).

Theotormon looks pathetic in the illustrations which portray him. In the frontispiece he hides his head between his legs, the ironical posture of a person who is hiding or burying his loins. In plate four, though Oothoon is pleading with Theotormon to understand her action, he continues to hide his face, an act of not wanting to know the truth of his own situation. He is probably ashamed of her nudity as well. Plate seven continues to show Theotormon with his head still deeply buried in his loins and clearly rejecting regeneration of any kind. Theotormon is the conventional man who is not conscious that "everything that lives is holy," and is not ready to accept the open display of love which Oothoon offers him. He will not accept her assertion that she is "pure," even though she has been raped, nor that "the night is gone that clos'd [her] in its deadly black." Unlike Oothoon, Theotormon believes "that the night & day" is all that he can see, that the five senses are closed, and that the "infinite brain" is enclosed in "a narrow circle" (VDA 2:191). Theotormon believes in the sexualization of darkness and secrecy (this is well described in the Notebook (161) poem, "Never pain to tell thy love") which lies at the roots of fallen perception.

Bromion as the restrictive moralist, the Urizenic enslaver, is aware that Oothoon represents a reality which opposes his morality and can easily upset the perilous balance of his tyranny. He fosters the view of sex that it is a weakness which the "masculine virtue" must overcome by expelling the temptress in the same manner as that in which Urizen casts out Ahania in The Four Zoas (3:294). But as the moralist is often hypocritical, he first rapes and then condemns the exploited victim as a harlot. In so doing he forgets that "Every Harlot was once a Virgin: every Criminal an Infant Love" (J 61:695), and that harlotry stems from deceitful morality. But the prophet opposes the tyrant and in his task of regenerating man he realizes that sexual love is the door through which most people must enter the imaginative world. He knows that for many it affords the sole glimpse they have into that world, and that to restrict man sexually is therefore to restrict much of the hope he might have. Man's sense of touch is the unifying faculty of the redeemed senses, and because it is through this sense that the other senses literally come into contact with one another, it is in the radical position of being the source of mobility and the power to act. The sense of touch has the capacity of execution without which the imagination can never live. Sexual restriction is for Blake a direct and yet devious attack upon all man's energy, upon his libido, of which he has been made so ashamed that he is unconscious of it and no longer owns to it.

The concentration of the loins is the Tyrant's expression of his fear of energy, of his own impotence, and of his failure to communicate with man on any level. "Impotence," says Fromm,

> "results in the sadistic striving for domination; to the extent to which an individual is potent, that is, able to realize his potentialities on the basis of freedom and integrity of his self, he does not need to dominate and is lacking the lust for power. Power, in the sense of domination, is the perversion of potency, just as sexual sadism is the perversion of sexual love."[102]

Blake knows that in a fallen world true sex is a subversive force that continually threatens the tyrant's system. In holding this view, Blake anticipates Winston Smith's belief in Nineteen Eighty-Four that "The sexual act, successfully performed, was rebellion."[103] And when Winston consummates the sex act with Julia, he exclaims: "Their embrace had been a battle, the climax a victory. It was a blow struck against the Party. It was a political act."[104] But Winston Smith is not a hero. Ultimately he is a victim and betrayer of all he presumed to stand for. He finally betrays Julia.

The Fall of Man is the denial of Jerusalem, the emanation of Albion. Every act by fallen man to re-integrate through desire with Jerusalem is an act of liberation that threatens the tyrant and suggests the coming-to-be dialectical world. This is why Enitharmon preaches her selfish doctrine of female will, why Urizen fears Ahania, and why Vala fears that Albion might embrace Jerusalem. This is also why Vala, through a series of mysterious acts, leads Albion away from discovering Jerusalem, and why Albion passes judgment on Jerusalem:

> Phantom of the over heated brain ! shadow of immortality !
> Seeking to keep my soul a victim to thy Love ! which binds
> Man, the enemy of man, into deceitful friendships,
> Jerusalem is not ! her daughters are indefinite:
> By demonstration man alone can live, and not by faith.
> My mountains are my own, and I will keep them to myself:
>
> (J 4:622)

The sexual repression of priestcraft is the repression of energy, and Man must be taught again that sexual activity is beautiful, as Oothoon attempts to do. Man must be taught that "Energy [which] is Eternal Delight" (MHH 4: 149) leads man to the position where he can rejoice with Oothoon that "Love! Love! Love! Happy Love! [is] free as the mountain wind." Such a love does not "sponge" upon another (VDA 7:194) nor result in the kind of manipulative, exploitative, and boring sex that Eliot describes so well in The Waste Land (235-256):

> she is bored and tired,
> . . . .
> She turns and looks a moment in the glass,
> Hardly aware of her departed lover;
> Her brain allows one half-formed thought to pass:
> "Well now that's done: and I'm glad its over."
> When lovely woman stoops to folly and
> Paces about her room again, alone,
> She smoothes her hair with automatic hand,
> And puts a record on the gramophone.

This vision of love is so unlike Oothoon's liberated view that

> I'll lie beside thee on a bank & view their wanton play
> In lovely copulation, bliss on bliss, with Theotormon:
> Red as the rosy morning, lustful as the first born beam,
> Oothoon shall view his dear delight, nor e'er with jealous cloud
> Come in the heaven of generous love, nor selfish blightings bring.
>
> (VDA 7:195)

Energy is from the body. Tyrants and priests have alienated man from his body in order to suppress him: in order that he may not know and therefore may not demand what he wants. The sexual activity performed with and not through the sense of taste-touch becomes a boring, meaningless exercise, closing up the last possible sense which can reestablish the brotherhood relationship of Beulah which Lawrence was later to describe:

> She clung to him unconscious in passion, and he never quite slipped from her, and she felt the soft bud of him within her stirring, and strange rhythms flushing up into her with a strange rhytmic growing motion, swelling and swelling till it filled all her cleaving consciousness, and then began again the unspeakable motion that was not really motion, but pure deepening whirlpools of sensation swirling deeper and deeper through all her tissue and consciousness, till she was one perfect concentric fluid of feeling and she lay there crying in unconscious inarticulate cries.
>
> (Lady Chatterley's Lover, 150)

This is one of the true imaginative experiences where male and female become one in body and mind, where the sexual act which brings them together is, as it once was and will be again, a means to liberation; where taste-touch is but an expanded opening into the Imagination. This scene from Lady Chatterley's Lover makes a point important throughout Blake's work. Man has for so long been a victim of false teaching and false morality that only a major and dramatic physical act, which is also a spiritual act (because the result of such action frees man's mind as well), can be enough of an example to some men that they will follow it. It is, therefore, not surprising, as the battles of Orc constantly show, that when man reaches the deepest point of enslavement he rebels. This is because war is energy enslaved. So, too, is sexual repression energy enslaved and the zoas are constantly threatening to or actually going to war after frustrating love battles with their emanations.[105] This particular act in Lady Chatterley's Lover happens basically as a rape scene because only through "excess" can Lady Chatterley's puritanical inhibitions be destroyed and a new vision in human relations prevail. Compared to the illicit, negative, but sexually acceptable lovemaking in the passage from The Waste Land, this love scene leads to regeneration. It is also noteworthy that the female-will culture, the first threat to Urizen's reembodying man with his Error, is challenged and destroyed through the act of rape in the "Preludium" to America. So, too, although Oothoon is involuntarily introduced to a sexual experience she had voluntarily sought, Bromion's act of rape helps her in fact to leave "Leutha's vale" of deceit. She refuses to accept Leutha's (or Enitharmon's, the mother of both Leutha and Oothoon, E 15:244) false teaching of the purity of being a virgin and secretive. Oothoon can claim, therefore, that through her experience she has rediscovered the human joys of old, the union of Innocence and Experience that results from a marriage between the Hell of desire and the Heaven of restraint (VDA 4:192).

The sense of taste-touch can alone find a passageway out of time, or into the eternal present. This sense alone is capable of both an immediate and a reciprocal union with its object. But sex is not the only factor which creates a bridge "between the disparate fragments of a fallen Albion."[106] Sex, like every other metaphor in Blake's work, is but one form of human "touching" or communion; but it is not all. When the object world becomes subjective and free, there will no longer be touch, for there will no longer be the illusion of Urizenic "voids" and "solids". Man must destroy the structures of tyranny and priestcraft which create a chasm of mystery around him, which makes him see and react to the female principle as a separate and purely physical object. He must realize, says Altizer, that "A genital and bisexual energy is simply a repressed product of the contraction of the senses; [and] it is bound to separation and death and can find no outlet to the totality of exuberance...."[107] The "Sexes must vanish," says Blake," & cease/To be when Albion arises from his dread repose" (J92:739). Sex as understood in the world of tyranny will cease after the Last Judgment and will exist again in Beulah as a necessary part of the androgynous state of Eden.

Even though Blake gives most of his attention in his work to the sexual window through which fallen man can "pass out what time he please," he is very much aware of the other fallen "windows" that "light the cavern'd Man" (Eiii:237), and he always refers to these senses and their failures because they are the measure of man's losses and despair. The lament in *Milton* (5:484-485) is his most extensive catalogue of their inadequacy. Here as in *The Book of Thel*(6:130) "The Eye of Man" is "a little narrow orb", "shut in doleful form", "Scarcely beholding the great light, conversing with the Void"; "The Ear" is "a little shell...shutting out/All melodies & comprehending only Discord & Harmony"; and the "closed Nostrils" cannot " feel a joy" or "tell of autumn fruits." This closing of man's sense outlets is described in vivid and horrifying detail in Urizen's seven ages of false creation in *The Book of Urizen* (10-13:228-229), and in a modified passage in *The Four Zoas*. This is a major metaphor of the Fall,and it is always to the tyrant's advantage to continue to keep the sense outlets closed (E.10:241). The restoration of man to the Edenic existence, says Blake in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, will come about only "by an improvement of sensual enjoyment," by a metamorphosis of the sensesthrough their engagements in the process of Imaginative work:

> If the doors of perception were cleansed everything would appear to man as it is, infinite.
> For man has closed himself up, till he sees all things thro' narrow chinks of his cavern.
>
> (MHH 14:154)

Thus Blake or the artist cannot rest from his great task to restore man's original vision, to pull man out of his imprisoned skull or body or physical world, to make man a producer not a product, and an informer of his sense not a tabula rasa which has sense impressions imposed on it.

Blake, the all-seeing Bard, in trying to restore man's original vision in the epoch of Christ, must look back to see how man's senses became enslaved, how the four sensesof the unfallen world, taste-touch, smell, light, and hearing became five senses that "whelm'd/In deluge oe'r the earth-born man" (E 10:241). In the unfallen world the senses expand and contract at will and each sense participates in the activities of the others. Here all the senses are engaged in transforming man's perceptions, and "the Eye altering alters all" (The Mental Traveller:426) is a reference to all perception. This is the visionary eye that gives rise to the heightened perception of the "Auguries of Innocence" (Pickering MS:431):

To see a World in a Grain of Sand
And a Heaven in a Wild Flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand
And Eternity in an hour.

The senses provide Eternal Man with visionary knowledge, a knowledge based on senses which surpass the senses. This is what Blake calls the "enlarged & numerous senses" of the ancient poets (MHH 11:153). And the senses provide man with an intellect which surpasses the ratio of the things of memory. This form of perception is not enhanced by the telescope or microscope as in Newton's physical world where subject and object do not touch: "The Microscope knows not of this nor the Telescope: they alter/The ratio of the Spectator's Organs, but leave Objects untouch'd" (M 29:516). The microscope, the telescope, and all optical devices intensify but do not expand the senses. This is why Blake calls Newton's vision "single"; the reality it yields is superficial, and its heaven "a Lawful Heaven, seen thro' a Lawful Telescope" (Anno. to Thornton 1:787). In other words, Newton's telescope reduces man's sight to the ratio, and it is the belief in what the ratio presents to man which causes his enslavement. The ratio is the tyrant and the priest's weapon; as long as man can see only it, he has no chance of being regenerated.

When Albion chooses the selfhood (his self-centeredness creates the delusion of a remote objective world) and consequently when he falls from Beulah, the tyrant Urizen closes the inlets or outlets of perception and Albion's senses become narrow orbs and caverns. In this fallen state the inlets or outlets of perception are a parody of their Eternal nature, which is to expand and contract at will (BU II:228-229).

In Beulah the four senses are united in Urthona. Urthona is the unity of all the zoas, the Imagination itself, the "Vehicular" power of forming hands and pacing feet, which is the form and energy of all history. But when man's imaginative perception is closed, the four senses as the four zoas, "the four rivers of life" flowing through Beulah (J 98:745), become separated. Now the number of senses changes from four to five because man is divided and out of touch. This is the process which threatens again to dominate history in Europe and to prolong the fallen reign of the tyrant. It is the prophet's task to reveal both tyrant and tyranny by opening or expanding these caverns or inlets of the soul so that fallen man can be restored to the fourfold vision of Eden: "To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the immortal Eyes/Of Man inwards into the Worlds of Thought, into Eternity" (J 5:623). Opening or expanding man's eyes inward is the same as opening man's vegetable eye outward. The prophet's task is to open the cleansed senses into perception of the inner world of the Imagination. The outer world of sense and the inner world of the Imagination will then become one, and the notion "perception" will lose its ambiguity. What makes possible the Blakean perception of "Infinity in the palm of [the] hand" and "Eternity in an hour" is that Blakean perception unites the inner world of imagination with the outer world of sense: that for Blake both kinds of perception are one and the same.

The fear that Blake expresses in the European cycle of history, and which reverberates in the major prophecies, is that "They bec[o]me what they beh[o]ld" (J 34:661); and that the process which leads to the lack of Imagination (a process which starts with the Fall and moves through a circle to Europe) will only continue to divide man. Pity divides and wrath unites. Any attempt to enforce unity by reducing man's inlets of perception to a ratio of static fact creates division. This is what Druidism does, it changes "the infinite to a serpent" and man is driven further into the "forests of night." Man is driven into the forest of error, "Shut up in finite revolutions," where he becomes an "Angel" and "Heaven a mighty circle turning, God a tyrant crown'd" (E 10:241). To attempt to enforce unity is to attempt to suppress energy or wrath and to divide and create war between those who wish to exploit and those who wish to control. Imaginative perception is the perception that perception is imaginative. That reality is not static fact but dynamic energy or imagination whose ratios change continually. If man becomes what he beholds, then he must either learn to change what he beholds or continue to become the fallen state he beholds. Man must become active in his perceiving rather than passive; only then can history be moved out of the dull round of error and can man transcend Newton's telescope.

The secret child's glorious moment of history is threatened, as was every previous Orc cycle in every culture, by the reduction of European culture from an imaginative base to Druidism. Albion's Angel, the "ancient Guardian," arrives at the "southern porch," the intellectual quarter of man, and finds that this entrance is "planted with trees of blackest leaf." This is the forest of error that encloses obscurely "the Stone of Night," which is the solid but secret sign of Druidic control and power. The "Stone on Night" is likened to the human skull (once the golden head of Urizen and now a parody of the myth of Plato's cave), but now through the Fall it is turned upside down and has become "A raging whirlpool" which "draws the dizzy enquirer to his grave" (E 10:242). To understand the impact of Druidism on all cultures, but particularly in Blake's Europe, is to receive in many ways a revealing insight into how Blake understood and reshaped the views of the mythologists of his time. Although much of what Blake has to say is connected with traditional sources and the theories of contemporary antiquarians, it is finally his own vision of man's fall from Imagination into abstraction which gives meaning to his myth.

During Blake's lifetime, there were several books and theories relating to the Druids, speculating in particular on the origin and widespread influence of Druid theory and the fact it was a Patriarchal culture from which other cultures, particularly Britain's, was derived.[108] One of the most persistent speculations, which was fostered by Reverend William Stukeley (who tried to show the essential link between Christianity and patriarchal religion), was that the Druids arrived in Britain during the life of the Patriarch Abraham or very soon after and that the Patriarchal religion which they brought was similar to Christianity and that they worshipped the same God as Abraham. Stukeley suggested further that one of Noah's great grandsons, who came to Britain, was a great builder of serpent temples, and he believed that Avebury was one of those temples designed in the shape of a serpent. Blake, seeking to integrate the European history of his time with history in its universal pattern and to emphasize that the most visionary perspective includes the geography of one's own country, found much in Druid theory to illuminate his own work. But, unlike the mythologists, he made the necessary distinction between the time when Druid culture was truly Patriarchal and when it became debased. Therefore, believing firmly in the view that "All Religions are one" at the source (that is that they were derived from the Patriarch or Poetic Genius) and that all religions were derived from poetic tales, Blake asserted that Druid teaching had first been promulgated in Britain, the original Holy Land. Hence came his belief that "All things Begin & End in Albion's Ancient Druid Rocky Shore" and that "those feet in ancient time/Walk[ed] upon England's mountains green."

The suggestion that Britain, and not Palestine, was the original Holy Land led to Blake's belief that the archetype of fallen man was not Adam but "Albion, our Ancestor, patriarch of the Atlantic Continent, whose History Preceded that of the Hebrews & in whose Sleep, or Chaos, Creation began" (VLJ 80-81:609). Furthermore, Blake believed that the last of the Druids was King Arthur, who, in the *Descriptive Catalogue* (4-5:576-577), is placed beside Gray's Bard with a description of the last "Battle of King Arthur" (Albion) and the rout of his forces (or the disorganization of Albion's faculties, the "Zoas"). Here Blake associates inspiration and divine vision with Druidism, and he promises that the spirit of King Arthur will "return again." But it is the decline from "Patriarchal Religion" to debased Druidism (which is fundamentally a degeneration in man's perception) and its pernicious influence which preoccupies Blake in *Milton* and *Jerusalem* and which leads him now to see King Arthur as the symbol of imperial power (J 64:698). The Druids are now like figures in a striking tapestry, intrusive. The desolate surface of Britain is covered with Druid stones and the British horizons are lit by their holocausts. It is at this juncture that the Druids build Stonehenge from the rocks of

Eden (J 66:701-702). What Druidism does, then, is also what Christianity and all previous cultures did and do: Druidism allows theory to take the place of reality, and theorizing the place of realizing, so that the fallen condition becomes more comfortable and more apparently secure. Druidism concentrates now on the elimination of one contrary in the favour of another. Nature becomes the basis of reality containing a scale of being which includes man. Druidism isolates the Deity and exalts it into the supreme Moral Agent. Finally, the "Stone of Torture" (J 66:702) is emphasized "to balance the scale of moral justice between good and evil for the human victim in this best of all possible worlds."[109] Man is burned now in the "Wicker Man of Scandinavia." This is an ironical fact because this death is only the sacrifice of the "vegetable" nature of man.[110] Images such as the Druids' "Knife of Revenge & the Poison Cup/Of Jealousy" (J 63:698) and the serpentine temples are very much part of this debased world. In such a system, says Fisher, "Victimization arose when 'Virtue' became an acceptable pattern of behaviour. Correction of behaviour according to some code or pattern tended to become increasingly negative and eventually culminated in the ritual murder of criminals in the name of moral virtue."[111]

The debased Druids in Blake's time are led and dominated by Urizen, the chief enemy of inspired faith, the perverter of truth which can be grasped only by intuition. The Druids are the priests of Urizen, and like him they are false philosophers and lawgivers. Moreover, in Blake's time the Druids are really such Deists as Newton, Locke, Bacon, Gibbon, and Voltaire: "Those who Martyr others or who cause War" (J 52:683). The Deists are the representatives of the school of "incoherent despair" and demonstration (J 15:636). Blake sees in Druidism the original of contempory Deism with its remote, unapproachable Deity whose laws are to be found in the natural order. The Deists are the debased "Preacher[s] of Natural Morality," the "flatterer[s] who betray, to perpetuate Tyrant Pride & the Laws of... Babylon." They are "the Enemies of the Human Race & of Universal Nature," and they are "in the State named Rahab," the state of moral virtue, a "State which must be put off before [the Deists] can be the Friend of Man" (J 52:681-682). It is Newton-Urizen, the priest of Deism-Druidism, who attempts in the frontispiece to Europe (10:241) to change "the infinite to a serpent." And it is Newton with his "Waterwheels" in Jerusalem (15:636), together with Locke's "Loom," who wishes to turn "the schools & Universities of Europe" and "every Nation" into dens of intellectual, economic and moral slavery. Newton is the spectre who wars against Los throughout history. This is why Blake wants "To cast off Bacon, Locke & Newton from Albion's covering," because it is their enslavement of Albion or fallen European man in "Rational Demonstration" and "the rotten rags of Memory" (M 41:533) which has made regeneration such a difficult end to attain. But because Blake's narrative has reached the crisis of history, and because this is the epoch of Christ, it is not only ironical but to be expected that the most pernicious messenger of Urizen's Error, Newton (the best known of the Deists), should seize "the trump" and blow "the enormous blast" of Druidic-Deistic defeat.

It is on this note of triumph that America intervenes and continues the narrative of the European myth of history. America, which is undoubtedly a poem of hope and freedom, not only deals with the triumph of Orc over Urizen but also sheds light on Orc as a figure of revolution and reaction and prepares the way for the "enormous blast" of Newton's trump" and for the Los of the last plate of Europe. In addition it provides an indication of Blake's perception and awareness of the revolutionary events occuring in the Europe of his day. America's essential power and meaning, as in the case of Europe, grows out of its contrasting imagery of hope and despair and light and heat, and this is especially noticeable in the illustrations.

The first four illustrations, which deal with sex in its natural and unnatural forms, show well the contrast between the depressing and hopeful segments of the poem. In the Title Page, the love embrace of the male and female figures takes place in a dark, awesome cave. At the top of the page there are two nude females flying away in abandon while there seems to be some alienation in the pose of the adult male and female figures. A further contrast is established between the young girl, who is praying on a tablet (probably a reference to the tablet on which the ten commandments were written) and another, whose finger is pointing at "Prophecy."[112] The picture which follows the title page (it precedes the title page in The American Blake Foundation copy) is a depressing portrayal of the unnatural love situation which exists in the fallen world. Here there is an angelic figure (undoubtedly Urizen's "Angel") whose face, like Theotormon's in the Visions of the Daughters of Albion, is buried between his gross-looking knees and turned towards his loins. He greatly resembles in his terrifying posture the Urizen of plate eight. This figure is the constrictor of sex. There is a woman in the picture, a mother of two children born out of loveless sexual encounters, who looks defeated. Again, the figures are enclosed in a cave and blocks of stone dominate the interior scene which is cold, dark, awesome, and terrifying.

The two plates of the "Preludium" are both contrasts to the previous illustration and to the meanings within themselves. The "Preludium" summarizes the chief meaning of the poem, and, in this case, it relates to Orc freeing himself from the tree of mystery or enslavement. Plate one shows both an enslaved Orc under the tree of mystery and a freeing of himself while Enitharmon holds her head in fear. In the middle is a continuation of the thick-stemmed trunk of the tree which has at its end a naked female. At the bottom sits a shrivelled, defeated young Orc with the serpent moving towards him. This picture is probably meant to be read from the bottom up confirming Blake's belief that Wisdom comes out of the discovery of Error. Wisdom comes out of the underground of revolution and consciousness, of the Devil's party and Orc. The defeated Orc at the roots becomes the freed Orc at the top, who is not under the tree any more. He is near the light branches and is in fact escaping the tree's influence. In plate two, the tree has become less ominous, being thin and tendrilly now, and it has no influence over Orc any more. This suggests, then, the posture of defiance, challenge, and victory which is Orc's in America.

Although the rest of the illustrations often contain dismal pictures of man's woeful state, it is in the Orcian flames that surround this state that emphasis is placed. In plate four, there is a dragon form with wings like an Angel and scales stretching out to the margin of the plate imprisoning everyone in sight; in plate five, there are terrifying figures, all victims of the Angel, fleeing; plate eight has a picture of Urizen in a circle with his flowing beard and his arms outstretched as the Nobodaddy of the ten commandments. There is also a tree joining his right hand which leads to darkness. In plate eleven, there is a woman and her two children riding on the back of the serpent, indicating that the negative philosophy of the serpent dominates the humans; plate twelve is a depressing picture of a tree which seems to have at the middle and bottom parts of the trunk a piling together(on top of each other) of blocks (stone, rock) and an old man with a stick bending over, entering a cave with a big, rock-like door being slightly open. Plates thirteen and fourteen show figures being attacked by fish and serpents, and plate sixteen shows a forlorn, fallen figure calling for help.

Contrasts to these illustrations are found in plate four where one of the figures is escaping his serpent-dominated world; in plate five, where Orc's flames reach the despairing figures; in plate six, where Orc like a Phoenix with ruddy, youthful power breaks away from the skeleton of death which has hitherto bound man; in plate ten, where Orc, surrounded by flames, is on the liberation path; and in plate fifteen, where, in contrast to the serpent scales which dominate so many of the illustrations, all of the figures are surrounded by Orc's flames. In these illustrations, Blake shows Orc or revolution's ability to withstand and overcome the triple threat of sexual enslavement, Druidism, and false sense perception which plague Europe and which attempt to overcome the figures in America.

America is chosen for both mythical and historical reasons as the continent where man's regeneration in the European cycle is first to occur. As observed earlier in the discussion of the mythologists of Blake's time, ane of the theories that received some attention was that of the Lost Atlantis. In America (10:200) Blake shows his awareness of this discussion,and in his peculiar way he fuses myth and history as it unfolds in his own time. Blake believes that in the "Golden Age" before the Fall humanity or Albion dwelt in peace in Atlantis. But the Fall produced a chaotic world of floods and overwhelmed Atlantis. In this way Atlantis was separated from man by the Atlantic Ocean, and it is only when this ocean disappears that man will be rejoined with this golden civilisation. This will occur when the Americans have defeated the tyranny of George III in America and have joined their revolutionary fervour(their part of the Lost Atlantis) to the English and inspired them to restore Edenic love and freedom to England. Since in his own time a new English civilization was growing in America, it did not take Blake long to appreciate this significant event, and he both encouraged its continuity, and drew inspiration in imagery and thought from it.[113]

But America is chiefly a poem of freedom and revolution, and the theory of a golden civilisation that has been lost and is now to be regained must be integrated into Orc's ability to liberate himself from enslavement. Because the first threat to the liberation of man in the Jesus epoch of history is sexual enslavement (seen earlier in Europe), it is no coincidence that America begins with an image of sexual torment and release. Europe had promised that if man would pass through his sense of touch "what time he pleas[d]," then man would reach the situation of America (16:203) where "the five gates [are] consum'd, & their bolts and hinges melted." But the Orc first encountered in the "Preludium" is the young boy of "The Mental Traveller" (Pickering MS:424-427) and of the lower half of the first illustration to the "Preludium" of America, who is bound by "The shadowy Daughter of Urthona" (A 1:19). "The shadowy Daughter of Urthona" is Enitharmon, who (as seen in the discussion of Africa and vividly portrayed in the illustration on plate twenty-one of The Book of Urizen) with the help of the unregenerated Los had bound Orc "to the rock" (BU 20:233) because of Los's sexual jealousy. The young Orc has now grown into puberty and his sexual desires have grown stronger. Furthermore, he is also able now to appreciate the extent of his enslavement. To bind Orc is basically what the Urizenic forces succeeded in doing in the other historical cycles and hoped to do continuously to man. They wish to turn Orc's revolutionary feelings into Druidic abstraction, to bind "iron thorns around his head," to pierce "both his hands & feet," and to cut "his heart out at his side" so that "it feel[s] both cold & heat" ("The Mental Traveller," Pickering MS:425). Therefore he is fed the thoughts of Druidism: "His food she brought in iron baskets, his drink in cups of iron" (A 1:195). Blake makes it clear, however, that the Orc of his time, of the Jesus epoch, is the unageing aspect of the Imagination as revolutionary, the symbol of revivifying force to those instincts which Urizen had perverted into ten commandments. Orc is the great surge of energy, often seen as bodily and sexual power, which defies the cavern or body of man. This D. H. Lawrence calls the "rebellion of life against convention."[114] Therefore, as seen in the upper half of the first illustration to the "Preludium," Orc's liberation occurs in his awakening of the dark Virgin of this plate and he announces that he is ready to challenge Enitharmon's mentor and "father stern" who "abhorr'd/ Rivets my tenfold chains." He embraces Enitharmon, which is his way of "rend[ing] these caverns" (A 1:196), of destroying the threat of the female will and unnatural sexual love in his age:

> Silent as despairing love, and strong as jealousy,
> The hairy shoulders rend the links; free are the wrists of fire;
> Round the terrific loins he siez'd the panting, struggling womb;
> It joy'd: she put aside her clouds & smiled her first-born smile,
> As when a black cloud shews its lightnings to the silent deep.
>
> (A2:196)

This "rending" of the "caverns" causes Enitharmon to break out in her first joyful song (A 2:196), and she identifies Orc with all the emblems of patriotic revolt: eagle, lion, and whale. Furthermore, Enitharmon's perception is cleansed to the extent that she recognizes the dismal trend of fallen history. She identifies Orc as "the image of God who dwells in [the] darkness of Africa" (A 2:196), that "image of God" which had been obliterated when Orc was chained "to the rock." Enitharmon sees Orc's "rending" of the caverns " as having the same regenerative impact (that is to put off Error and reveal Truth) on her Error-filled perceptions as Jesus' death had on man: "And thou art fall'n to give me life in regions of dark death" (A 2:196). Enitharmon identifies Orc's coming with the return of true sexual feeling, a feeling which had become "dumb till that dread day when Orc assay'd his fierce embrace" (A1:196). This means that the passion between Enitharmon and Los, or between Woman and Man, was lost when Los jealously and erroneously suspected Orc's Freudian longings and chained him to the rock. But Enitharmon's awakening is at first only an outward or bodily one. She has not as yet been liberated fully because her perceptions are still tied up with the Urizenic-Lockean distinction between subject and object, soul and body. Hence she must still perceive Orc's action as leading to "eternal life" and not the "eternal death" whose "torment" had been" long foretold" (A 2:196). She still has to realise that at this time Orc is an iconoclastic figure who destroys the outward idols which man worships. Orc helps to clear man's vision so that as his flames of conflict consume the material world, the illusion of a static reality, man is left to look inward to his dynamic reality and create again the contraries which create a life of the forgiveness of sins and brotherhood of man.

Blake's task is to explore Urizenic tyranny for what it is, and in a late eighteenth century European environment of enslavement, war, revolution, and liberation, the classical stalemate between Urizen and Orc seems still the best way to define Orc's position and Blake's awareness of it. Thus America is filled with imagery contrasting "warlike men" in "swords", "spears," and "muskets" hiding in "encampment and castles." The enslaving "chains," "whips," and "dungeons" are opposed by the "rending" of the chains and the release of man from the "whips" and the "dungeons." The fiery redness and flames of wrath of the honest rebel are opposed to the whiteness, hoariness, and flames of hypocrisy of the oppressor. The heat is contrasted with light, and the Lion opposes the Wolf. The difference here in the Orc-Urizen battle is, as argued earlier, that it is seen in the Jesus epoch of history as part of the creative power of Los, and Los succeeds not only to "redeem Orc, and yet reclaim Urizen," but Blake gives a clear indication of understanding the events of the French Revolution that occur later. The clash now is between Urizen as Albion's "wrathful Prince,/A dragon form, clashing his scales" who "flame[s]red meteors round the land of Albion beneath" (A3:197) and an Orc who is an "Intense," "naked," "Human fire," a "Wonder oe'r the Atlantic sea" but whose "fierce glowing" fire emanates heat only "but not light" (A 4:197). The vision of history as four continents had led Enitharmon, earlier, to perceive the Fall of man in Africa as a continuous event. The vision of Washington, which perceives "a heavy iron chain" (the "mind-forg'd manacles" that enslaved the English) descending "link by link from Albion's [England's] cliffs across the sea" to reduce Americans to the same sorry state as the Europeans (A3:197), is part of the same narrative of fourfold history. In both cases, as seen earlier in all of Blake's work which treats Europe as the place of the Last Judgment, it is really what is happening in Europe that determines the course of history.

The "Sullen fires" that "glow" "across the Atlantic" (A3:197) refer to the environment of dissent in Europe, an environment where protesting men such as Blake regard this war of oppression on the Americans as being inspired by Satanic forces. Therefore, Blake says it is "Satan" (England, George) who "first the black bow bent" (Note-Book:420), who caused this unjust war. Hence the "fires" coming from England are not fiery, but "sullen" or hesitant because the King's mandate for war is not supported by his people. It is, then, the climate of revolt which prevails in Europe, the Orc-crisis in European history, which has awakened Enitharmon to the process of sexual enslavement, and which inspires Washington to defy "Albion's wrathful Prince" (A 3: 197).

Orc's declaration to the spectrous Angel that "Empire is no more" (A 6:198) is truly one of the boldest and most triumphant announcements in all of Blake's poetry. Here, finally, after many early indications in Blake's work, victory is claimed over tyranny, over war-like, restrictive Empire-building, the dominion over man which Urizen and other tyrants search for. This victory is identified by Orc with the resurrection of Jesus, suggesting that further Orc-Urizen battles will not occur. Like Jesus, Orc is a revived God who is also Man (that is, Orc as "an eternal form of the imagination"), and Orc's renewal is as radical as that of the Jesus of orthodoxy. Hence Orc breaks not only the grave as Jesus did in his resurrection, "The grave is burst, the spices shed, the linen wrapped up" (A 6:198), but, more importantly, he destroys the limitations of the fallen body and can indeed call upon man to "Rise and look out." Now "[man's] chains are loose, [man's] dungeon doors are open" and his "wife and children [can] return from the oppressor's scourge" (A 6:198). Orc claims now that the awakening of Enitharmon's perception to true love in the "Preludium" is completed with his "scattering" of Urizen's false religions and laws. These laws had earlier in The Song of Los been promulgated by Los's unredeemed children, "To the four winds as a torn book, & none shall gather the leaves" (A 8:198). Now "The fiery joy," which is the sexual gate that will consume the other four gates of the "law-built heaven" (A 16:203), is set free to "burst the stony roof," the teaching by Urizen that sexual love is "Sin." Therefore Orc, like Oothoon earlier in the Visions of the Daughters of Albion, announces with triumph, "For everything that lives is holy, life delights in life;/Because the soul of sweet delight can never be defil'd" (A8:199). In this manner Orc assumes that he has laid to rest the most pernicious cause of fallen man's enslavement. The lines,

> They look behind at every step & believe it is a dream,
> Singing: "The Sun has left his blackness & has found a fresher morning,
> And the fair Moon rejoices in the clear & cloudless night"
>
> (A6:198),

reinforce the indentification of Orc with Jesus. When Jesus died on Golgotha darkness took the place of the Sun, and with his resurrection the Sun, the Moon, and in fact all of Nature returned to man's bosom as it was in Eternity. Because man is separated from Nature in the Fall (this is recorded in "Africa" in *The Song of Los*) Orc's victory in *America* reunites Nature to man and reunites the historical vision of man's Fall in Africa to his regeneration in America.

The Orc described by Blake here, although a figure of "Wonder," is not as yet Los, the true Imaginative power who has not only Orc's revolutionary spirit, the fire (because all Imaginative activity is a challenge to the establishment), but who has the prophetic ability (the light) to lead man out of the doomed cycle. "Orc is not," as Rose points out, "imagination but raw energy and not love but sexual power, he is Luvah in the night of this world...."[115] This is why in the "Preludium" Orc opposes Enitharmon on the level of sexual love, and he is successful to the extent that Enitharmon enjoys the physical act even though much imaginative activity will be required to cleanse her completely. Orc secures a partial victory only. So, too, when Orc opposes Urizen, the father of debased Druidism in Blake's age. Orc, bereft of imaginative light can only meet Urizen on his own ground; namely that of violence, power, and force with the strongest side claiming victory. Blake describes Urizen, as well, in fiery, war-like imagery. Urizen "burns in his nightly tent"; he gives off "Sullen fires"; and he "glows with blood" (A 3:197). The irony that Blake points out here, though its true meaning is missed by the Angel, is that Orc unredeemed by Los is an "Antichrist" figure (A 7:198), because his rebellion is not organized to lead to imaginative social and political positions. The battle is, as so often in the battles of the zoas, a fight for "power and dominion," which is not only one of the causes of the Fall, but which does not permit freedom and brotherhood for all mankind. Hence the victory song over "Albion's Angel" who stands "beside the Stone of night" (A 5:197), the essential building block of the opaque world and the Druidic altar of sacrifice, is a partial victory only. In Europe man's head is literally entombed in the Rock. The Stone is actually in man's skull. Man sees all life being imprisoned in rock in the sense that all life is anchored to the rock. But it is because man's head is filled with this Rock that his perceptions cannot imagine beyond what it perceives; that, like Orc or Urizen, man can perceive his regeneration only in terms of war-like and reactionary battles such as the ones Urizen and Orc have waged in every Orc cycle of history. Therefore "heat but not light went thro' the murky atmosphere" (A 4:197).

Having reached the moment of crisis when Orc is finally able, on a visible and physical level, to blow "the trump of doom" and claim success over Urizen, the rest of America deals with the spreading of this victory to Europe where the Last Judgment is to occur. This is why the "foreheads" of "Washington/And Paine and Warren" are "rear'd toward the east" (A9:199), an indication that the battle has been won in the West (America) and is now to be taken to Albion's own shore in the East. The Angel and England's defeat is signified by the weeping of the Angel and the refusal by the American colonies to respond to England's call for war: "No trumpets answer; no reply of clarions or of fifes:/Silent the Colonies remain and refuse the loud alarm" (A 10:200). This is the pivotal point of America. The "vast shady hills between America & Albion's shore" are removed and this leads to the hope of regeneration for all mankind which is expressed in the last plate of the poem. The removal of the "vast shady hills between America and Albion's shore" effectively reunites the shattered halves that occurred in the flood of the Lost Atlantis myth. Now the "thirteen Angels" or American colonies, having heard Orc's message of inspiration and revolution, become "fiery" and burn "indignant" "with the fires of Orc" and throw down the scepters of tyranny and natural religion as Orc did earlier in plate six. "Boston's Angel's" declaration contains much of the wrath of Rintrah in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (2:148) and is a defiant answer to Enion's bewilderment in The Four Zoas (2:290). He recognizes that the deceptive "God" who "writes laws of peace & clothes him in a tempest," and the "pitying Angel" that "lusts for tears and fans himself with sighs," and the "crawling villain" who "preaches abstinence" but "wraps himself/In fat of lambs" (A 11:200) are the false villains who have driven men like himself into the wilderness. Therefore he decides defiantly to break this cycle of imprisonment by refusing to follow anymore: "no more I follow, no more obedience pay." His defiance is followed by the casting off of "robes," and his speech is not only similar in tone and defiance to Orc's in plate six, but he unites the American colonies in action with the tearing off of the robe or flesh in the act of resurrection of Jesus Christ that Orc imitates and identifies with in an earlier passage.

In America, it is the ironic sending of the "diseases of the earth" (A 13:201) by Albion's Angel (who, like Newton, serves Urizen) to destroy the "forty million" rebellious Americans which leads to the final destruction of the forces of tyranny. The "diseases of the earth" are similar to the plagues that Jehovah sent against Egypt. Unlike the ten plagues which had been sent to destroy the declining and repressive African civilization, the plagues are sent unjustly and ironically strenghten the American people and defeat the oppressive forces: "The red fires rag'd: the plagues recoil'd: then roll'd they back with fury/On Albion's Angels" (A 14-15:202). This victory of the Americans is felt in England where "the Bard of Albion," the hypocritical villain who sings restriction's praise, refusing to accept Albion's defeat hides "in his cave.../And a cowl of flesh grew o'er his head, & scales on his back & ribs" (A 15:202). Refusing to accept the true meaning of Orc's victory, the followers of Albion, their spirits fraught with "Leprosy," turn into "the sneaking serpent" of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (2:149). The "sneaking serpent" walks "In mild humility" waiting for the opportune moment when the Rintrahs of the world are unable to sustain the conditions of their victory. This is, of course, what has happened in every previous Orc cycle. It is Urizen who is the serpent at the bottom of the tree. Urizen is truly an "Antichrist" demon; through his deceptive action he draws Orc down with him to the bottom and turns a fiery Orc without Los's light into a serpent form. Urizen unredeemed is unimaginative. Therefore, though defeated, Urizen repeats the action of seeming humility which had been so successful in the first six Orc cycles. Thus his false "tears in deluge piteous" and his "Weeping in dismal howlings before the stern Americans" (A 16:203) are meant to create pity for himself and to deceive the Americans to the extent that he would not be truly identified as their tormentor. But the American revolution occurs in the Jesus epoch of history, and although Urizen is able to hide Orc's meaning from the rest of Europe until the French Revolution and thus continue to govern the Rintrahs of the world, "Till Angels & weak men twelve years should govern o'er the strong" (A 16:203), he cannot annihilate the essential meaning of the American triumph. The promise is clear: the final end of Urizen and his followers final end will come "when France [has] reciev'd the Demon's light" (A 16:203). Hence the victory of the American spirit of revolution effectively overcomes the three threats (the tyranny of Enitharmon's false theory of sex, Druidism, and the closed or false perceptions) which seek to prevent the regenerative work of "the secret child." It is this recognition of defeat which leads Newton into blowing the "trump" in *Europe*.

The victory in America creates the climate of hope whith which *Europe* ends. Man can concentrate on becoming artistic again as the destiny of history is passed on from Orc to Los:

> Then Los arose: his head he rear'd in snaky thunders clad;
> And with a cry that shook all nature to the utmost pole,
> Call'd all his sons to the strife of blood.
>
> (E 15:245)

The ending of Europe differs from America in that it does not express the enthusiasm of America that "Empire is no more." It ends with a call from Los, inspired by the Orc aspect of his character, for warfare in France.

Both America (16:203) which with its "Stiff shudderings shook the heav'nly thrones! France, Spain, & Italy," and Europe (14-15:244-245) in which

> But terrible Orc, when he beheld the morning in the east,
> Shot from the heights of Enitharmon,
> And in the vineyards of red France appear'd the light of his fury,

continue the ideas and action of the European cycle of history that has now reached France. France is the last place where Urizen's tyranny is to be overcome and where the threat to the victory of the "secret child's" birth is to be eradicated. It has been argued earlier that the emphasis in the Jesus epoch of history is not on violence as a means of overthrowing oppressive tyranny but on the patient work of Los who "Striv[es] with Systems to deliver Individuals from those Systems" (J 11:630). The predominant theme of the European cycle of history is not, as it was in the other cycles of history, on war; but on the all-pervasive theme of perception--the opening of man's "immortal Eyes.../inwards into the Worlds of Thought, into Eternity" (J 5:623). This theme preoccupies Blake throughout his writing, but especially in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. Therefore the promise and the lesson taught in Europe (iii:237), that man will be restored to his lost Edenic condition if the bolts and hinges that prevent man from seeing the real truth are "melted and consumed" (as they are in America, 16:203), is now applied to The French Revolution. Consequently, The French Revolution begins not on a note of great battle, but on a sober sense of foreboding that "the old mountains of France," the aged system of monarchical and priestly tyranny, will fade away. The aged and spiritually sick King of France, who because of his ambivalent vision in the poem is treated in an ambivalent manner, is touched by this sense of foreboding. Hence he is unable to wield the tyranny of his royal scepter any longer, and leans upon Necker to face his warlike nobles with the ominous message that "the ancient dawn calls us/To awake from slumbers of five thousand years" (FR 1:134).

France and fallen mankind have, like Albion, been asleep while the destructive Orc cycles have consumed man with their circular, tyrannous force. Man has awakened periodically, but, like Albion, he has constantly preferred the "Couch of death" (FZ 2:280), the slumberous nightmare Life-in-Death of Coleridge's Ancient Mariner. In such a state of slumber, man has been the easy prey of the tyrant. Therefore, in order for France to overcome tyranny, the vision of the French people has to be raised. This task of reawakening the French is left to Los.

The chief question, then, in The French Revolution is one of perception, and it is demonstrated in vivid and colorful language in a debate between men blinded by tradition and self-interest. In this poem, Blake demonstrates with his language and imagery how Los as Poet can raise man's perception, and he succeeds as never before to make writing the truly

[illegible]

integrated art force of poetry, painting, and music. It can perhaps be speculated that this is one reason why Blake did not engrave the poem.[116] In keeping with the chief contrast within the poem, namely the dichotomy between abstract and real vision, the poem at various points describes cloudy and clear thinking. Therefore in the same speech (FR 1:138) the Duke of Burgundy can employ obtuse reasoning to urge the King not to give in to the revolutionaries and with distinct clarity describe the pastoral life of simplicity which he assumes is the ideal kingdom for which the revolutionaries are struggling. So, too, the Archbishop's speech (FR 1:140-141) recognizes the victory which awaits the oppressed, but contrary to true vision, he implores the King "to shut-up this Assembly in their final home." The imagery and language that Blake employs indicate the stature, vision, and drama of the poem. The Duke of Burgundy's warlike vision is indicated by the simile "red as wines," and the smell of this wine is "an odor of war, like a ripe vineyard, which rose from his garments." He is "Cloth'd in flames of crimson," and while "he stretch[es] his red limbs" over the council "his words fall like purple autumn on the sheaves" (FR 1:138). The Archbishop of Paris rises in "the rushing of scales and hissing of flames and rolling of sulphurous smoke." He is later transformed (in keeping with his strident, warlike utterings) into a scaly serpent whose "voice issued harsh grating; [and] instead of words harsh hissings/shook the chamber" (FR 1:140,142). The Earl of Borgogne, another warlike lord, is described as rising "inflam'd" and "like thunder-clouds ready to burst" (FR 1:141). These fierce proponents of war are contrasted with the Duke of Orleans, who, "generous as mountains, arose and unfolded his robe, and put forth/His benevolent hand" (FR 1:142), and with Aumont, whose vision is from the underground, the "hollow graves" (FR 1:141). The oppression in the Bastille, the Ancient institution of oppression with its seven towers of blood and horror, can both be visualized and heard. The "utterances" of the inmates are "loud despair" so that not only is the suffering heard and felt by the inmates, but even the Bastille with "her grey towers groan[s]" and "trembles." And the "howlings, despair, and black night" drive the Governor of this prison to madness. Again by allowing language and imagery to portray the action, Blake succeeds in showing both past oppression when man slumbered and the renovative, regenerative act that has been promised at the beginning of the poem. Furthermore, the anthropomorphic device of raising the Bastille into a human form of both oppression and pain has many counterparts in this poem. The mountains are "sick," the "vineyards weep," the dawn is "ancient," the clouds are wise, the towers are "dark and sickly," and the prison dens "shake and tremble" (FR 1:134-136). Blake constantly uses animal imagery to convey a political message; particularly in Burgundy's speech (FR 1:138). Blake succeeds in showing that Los's task as a Poet is to raise to human voice and action everything that lives as man was before his Fall and will be again after his victory.

Blake, however, singles out in particular the image of the cloud through which he is able to direct the debate between real and false vision which occurs in the poem, and with this imagery he can also "block off, deepen, and enrich the poem's scenes."[117] The French Revolution (1:134) begins with the contrasting images of "cloud and vision." It is not so much that the cloud is set off against vision, but that there is a kind of vision which occurs within the cloud. The cloud may "signal," as Halloran puts it,"the apocalyptic storm with its dual function of destruction and renewal."[118] The cloud imagery not only signifies the kind of vision that the main debaters in the drama hold, but also illustrates the ambivalent position of these debaters. For example, the King, the highest representative of the ancient regime, is fully aware that the well-appointed "cloud" (FR 1:134) has arrived to inform him that he and his entourage have for centuries been governing under clouds of abstraction and illusion. He is aware that the newly arrived cloud, accompanied by vision, is a wise cloud ("Clouds of wisdom prophetic reply, and roll over the palace roof heavy," FR 1:134) which, as a true contrary to vision, signifies the end of tyranny. He recognizes that this is a cloud of wisdom that will literally lift man "from slumbers of five thousand years." This is when he relies on Necker, the Christ-like and spiritual figure in the poem,[119] to help him announce to his nobles that tyranny has come to an end. The King's low-keyed and conciliatory decision to "Let the Nation's Ambassador come among Nobles, like incense of the valley" (FR 1:143), is influenced to some extent by the real vision which he has seen from his window. But the King is basically a weak and ineffectual leader who, like all tyrants, cannot sustain the vision of the wise cloud. Therefore, in fear and under the illusion of the abstract cloud, he urges his fellow oppressors to hide "In stones, among roots of trees.../Let us hide; let us hide in the dust; and plague and wrath and tempest shall cease" (FR 1:137). Although the nobles literally "fold round" the King "like the sun of old time quench'd in clouds," the true Sun of "old Time[s] does not exist anymore, and therefore "In their darkness the

King stood; his heart flam'd, and utter'd a with'ring heat" (FR 1:137). The Sun, of course, in Nature is the head as the King is the head of the body politic. It is also worth noting the identification of the Sun and the King with Urizen who in the unfallen world is both the head and the sun.

The cloud of wisdom relates also to the "Darkness of old times" (FR 1:135) that permeates the seven dungeons of the Bastille. Man has for centuries been held in the towers of Horror, Darkness, Bloody, Religion, Order, Destiny, and God, the seven pillars of the creation of Law which uphold the social and natural worlds of the tyrant. Man has been enslaved by a tyrannous vision and so has laboured under a cloud of abstraction. The cloud which now descends on France stirs the inmates to where they feel "the dens shake and tremble," and they share in the new hope that "their wives and children" are enjoying as "visions of sorrow leave pensive streets" (FR 1:136).

It is in the speeches of the Duke of Burgundy and the Archbishop of Paris that the real and false visions that dominate the poem come into prominence. The leadership of the nobility is transferred to Burgundy, who is a would-be harvester of blood and who abhors the fact that the world of tyranny which had been built over six thousand years is now to be threatened by the rumblings of a revolution which finds its origins in America:

> Shall this marble built heaven become a clay cottage, this earth an oak
> stool, and these mowers
> From the Atlantic mountains mow down all this great starry harvest of
> six thousand years?
>
> (FR 1:138)

Although Burgundy identifies the real question, the supplanting of the great starry harvest of aristocratic accumulation of privilege since the Fall by the new mowers of humanism who wish to build in their "clay cottage" a true world of equality and love, his obtuse reasoning is guided by the "red clouds" of war which influence the vision of the chamber to become cloudy ("And the chamber became as a clouded sky," FR 1:138). Hence he urges the King to "stretch the hand that beckons the eagles of heaven" and order the army against the rebels "with clarions of cloud breathing war" (FR 1:138).

Burgundy's vision is supported by the Archbishop, who not only confirms the natural vision of the corrupt Church but underscores, in the ironic but real vision which he receives in a dream, the hopeless sterility of the ruling class, who even in the face of dire warnings refuse to admit their past Error. The Archbishop's real or dream vision contains the image, a misty cloud-like one, of "An aged form, white as snow, hov'ring in mist, weeping in the uncertain light" (FR 1:140). This is the image of the Jehovah of orthodoxy, the sky-god Urizen, a minimal Reason whose days are numbered. But the Archbishop's own cloudy vision (FR 1:140) prevents him from true sight. He shudders at the equality of man in his vision, the possibility that "The priest [will] rot in his surplice by the lawless lover, the holy beside the accursed,/The King, frowning in purple, beside the grey plowman, and their worms embrace together" (FR 1:141). This vision of truth, which signals the birth of a new moral order, makes the Archbishop counsel the King to

> send forth thy Generals; the command of Heaven is upon thee!

> Then do thou command, O King, to shut up this Assembly in their final home;
> Let thy soldiers possess this city of rebels, that threaten to bathe their feet
> In the blood of Nobility, trampling the heart and the head; let the Bastille devour
> These rebellious seditious; seal them up, O Anointed, in everlasting chains.
>
> (FR 1:141)

The unclouded vision of a new order is expressed by the Abbé de Sieyés, who is under the influence of Henry IV and the underground forces of the "hollow graves," and the Duke of Orleans, who is "generous as mountains" and who champions the revolution. Henry the Fourth's presence is particularly important as a catalyst in bringing new awareness to the hazy situation in the King's chamber. Henry represents one of the exceptional rulers in the history of Kings because he accepted democratic principles of equality and freedom among all his subjects and thus betrayed his oppressive heritage. Now as a Dantean voice, from a place at the bottom of the graves, the Hell from which exuberant energy ascends, his vision comes as a warning to the nobles that unless they shed their figurative outer bindings ("Each stern visage lock'd up as with strong bands of iron, each strong limb bound down as with marble,/In flames of red wrath burning, bound in astonishment a quarter of an hour," FR 1:137), the formality of their position, they can expect the wrath and vengeance of the people.

Orleans puts into perspective Henry the Fourth's vision and clarifies the fear that the Archbishop expresses in his dream vision. Orleans' vision is also Blake's and a great deal of passion accompanies this speech. The speech (FR 1:142-143) also answers the laments of Thel (BT 6:130) and Enion (FZ 2:290-291). Orleans pleads with his fellow nobles to stop fearing "dreams" nor falsely interpreted "visions," because if the members of the body politic are just then the "body" cannot be "diseas'd." It is impossible then for the "Nobles [to] be bound when the people are free, or [for] God [to] weep when his children are happy" (FR 1:142). Orleans suggests to the King's council that if they were to "enter into the infinite labyrinth of another's brain" before they "measure the circle that he shall run," they will find that the revolutionaries, Fayette, Mirabeau, Target, Bailly, and Clermont, were but men like themselves searching for those goals which will benefit all of mankind.

The cloud imagery is invoked again to show the reaction of the nobles, "The Nobles sat round like clouds on the mountains, when the storm is passing away" (FR 1:143). This is a clear indication that the nobles have been awakened to the fact of their oppressive power and that they are ready to accept the passionate revelation of the Abbé de Sieyés. The Abbé informs them that after six thousand years of "Mourning oppressed on village and field" where "the husbandman [wept] at blights of the fife" and "the pale mother nourish[ed] her child to the deadly slaughter," the clouds have broken and the people are now "O'erclouded with power" ready to meet "the first voice of the morning" and claim their true heritage of freedom and love (FR 1:143-144). The dark cloud of hazy vision being removed from the nobles, the poem moves to an end (as all the other poems in the European cycle have) in a Prometheus-like way. Jupiter is not defeated, as he was in the first six cycles, through fire alone, but he is made a party to his own defeat by accepting that the true vision which Los has revealed is meant to regenerate him as well as those he has oppressed for so long. In this manner, Los can truly "redeem Orc" and "yet reclaim Urizen," and make them, again, the necessary "Prolific" and "Devouring" figures of Eden. Hence The French Revolution ends not on a note of violent warfare, but instead the Assembly "vote[s] the removal of War" (FR 1:146). The Assembly votes to "unbuckle/The girdle of war from the desolate earth" (FR 1:144). The result is that the people urge the soldiers to "Throw down thy sword & musket," and the soldiers "run and embrace the meek peasant." Blake ends the poem and the European cycle of history as he envisioned it, "as the nonviolent removal of the social and political hierarchies of eighteenth-century Europe"[120] and of hierarchies everywhere in all of history. Therefore, even the tyrants are at the end engulfed by the awakening revolutionary forces and find themselves in a new age where the former oppressors and oppressed will live together in liberty and fraternity. Similarly, Orc-Los, who had pursued Urizen as his enemy throughout The Four Zoas, now feels love for him (FZ 7a:328-332). The struggle is unresolved until both Urizen and Orc forgive each other, and this is what happens in the final poem of the European cycle and it is celebrated with joy:

> And the bottoms of the world world were open'd, and the graves of archangels
> unseal'd:
> The enormous dead lift up their pale fires and look over the rocky cliffs.
> A faint heat from their fires reviv'd the cold Louvre; the frozen blood re-
> flow'd.
> Awful up rose the king him the peers follow'd; they saw the courts of the
> Palace
> Forsaken, and Paris without a soldier, silent; for the noise was gone up
> And follow'd the army, and the Senate in peace sat beneath morning's beam.
>
> (FR 1:148)

As observed earlier, The French Revolution, like all the other poems dealing with the European cycle of history, was written while the actual events were occurring, and Blake's response to the successes and failures of these events was immediate. Therefore, when the fundamental principles of liberty which the leaders of the French Revolution stood for were distorted and turned into a platform of power-lust and revenge, Blake must naturally have been, like Wordsworth in The Prelude, disappointed. Wordsworth believed, like Blake (except that Blake saw the success of the French as another important step in the total regeneration of all mankind), that the success of the French revolutionaries would influence the English to the extent that they would abolish the oppressive practice of slavery:

> for I brought with me the faith
> That, if France prospered, good men would not long
> Pay fruitless worship to humanity,
> And this most rotten branch of human shame,
> Object, so seemed it, of superfluous pains,
> Would fall together with its parent tree.
>
> (The Prelude 10:258-262)

But rather than become disillusioned and blame the failure of the Revolution on the outbreak of "unbridled democracy"[121] as Wordsworth does, Blake, a firm believer in man being freed of his "mind forg'd manacles" and who had faith that man had in fact entered the last phase of history, saw the failure of the outward, historical revolution as another threat to the descent of the secret child. Creative men had to contend with the same phenomena in other ages of the Orc cycles of history and like the immature and unregenerate Los of The Four Zoas (4-5:305) they had succumbed to the rigours of history and permitted the tyrant to dominate (Milton is one of these men who in fact supported War and had to be brought back to Earth in Blake's poem to see his Error and become a true leader of mankind). But unlike them, Los-Blake has learned to integrate Orc's fiery personality into his own, and can therefore urge man not to become embroiled again (as he was in the first six Orc cycles) in open warfare of tyrant and rebel but rather to overcome tyranny by becoming imaginative in the "holiness of his affections."

Schorer is therefore right in suggesting that "Blake had never held the particular faith of his friends in the Revolution, and therefore he was not faced with their dilemma when the Revolution disappointed them."[122] It is also true, as both Erdman and Schorer have shown, that the aftermath of the French Revolution with its air of suspicion and tyrannical prohibitions, was a particularly unhappy and dangerous time for supporters of revolutions. It was after all a time when people were arrested on the slightest suspicion of preaching reform. The Jacobin cause disillusioned intellectuals and plebeians alike because of government repression, the execution of aristocracy in France, Paine's imprisonment in Luxembourg, and the executions of Girondins. "To defend the Bible in this year 1798," says Blake, "would cost a man his life. The Beast & the Whore rule without control" (Anno. to Watson:383). It is also possible that this may have been the reason why Blake stopped writing "such precisely dated prophecies in America and Europe."[123] It is not true, however, as Schorer claims, that Blake lost interest in the events of his time because "history had moved, and that in the remainder of Blake's lifetime the alternatives it presented left little room for his choice."[124] These views, of course, as shown before, are inspired by the belief that man's salvation was to come through a great cataclysmic battle between Orc and Urizen with Orc as victor. But by the time Blake studied the French Revolution, the American Revolution had already taken place, and the lesson learned in that revolution had been passed on to Los to be refined in his furnace so that vision can be used in the French Revolution. This is why Blake attacks Voltaire and Rousseau; their fiery, impassioned pleas to the French masses to overthrow the Church and State were inspired not by selflessness and vision but by a desire to supplant the tyrants of the time by a tyranny of their own. Blake realizes that these so-called spokesmen for liberty were not interested in liberty at all but wanted to lead man back into slavery:

> Mock on, Mock on Voltaire, Rousseau:
> Mock on, Mock on: 'tis all in vain!
> You throw the sand against the wind,
> And the wind blows it back again.
>
> (The Note-Book 4:418)

For Blake the sand of Voltaire and Rousseau is but the "Atoms of Democritus" and "Newton's Particles of light," not the "beams divine" (The Note-Book 4:418) that will truly lead mankind out of his degenerate state. Blake realizes that Voltaire's attack on the Church was inspired by the selfhood and consequently Voltaire and Rousseau are in the same power-loving class as are Constantine and Charlemaine:

> Titus! Constantine! Charlemaine!
> O Voltaire! Rousseau! Gibbon! Vain
> Your Grecian Mocks & Roman Sword
> Against this image of his Lord!
>
> (J 52:683)

The radical thinkers, says Blake, in effect teach enslaved mankind that regeneration is possible through the simple violent overthrow of old structures. Imbued with this belief, the oppressed classes storm the Bastille and execute the King and his parasitic nobles and upper clergy. But the advocacy of such doctrines is devoid of imagination, man's power to create,to revolutionize. The radicals fail to see that the material world is more than laws and institutions, that the material world is the illusion of a static reality in which man cannot choose his own destiny. Therefore, they create a climate of terrorism and anarchy which in turn places a sterner and severer tyrant in the seat of power. Such a confusion was to hand over the reins of control to Napoleon, and what promised to be a glorious new age became an era for the slouching beast to lead man farther into the state of death.

The radicals, of course, had failed to understand Los's rôle, and the last three prophetic works, *The Four Zoas*, *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, concentrate on cleansing their and the enslaved masses' distorted vision which can behold only what they have been indoctrinated to see. Only when man understands history for what it is, a separation of object from subject, imagination from reason, can his social and political institutions become human and humanizing and can the true revolution be a bloodless removal of the social and religious hierarchies that enslave men's minds and cause them to inflict pain upon each other. Indeed, it is only when man understands history as the error that it is, that the material world will be removed; that the cult of nature and reason, which embraces a static notion of reality (the most powerful myth or "church" yet invented because it seems to be the overthrow of myth or "churches"), will be destroyed. The illusion of object separate from subject is the illusion of a static "reality" which obstructs man in his choice of his destiny. It is the separation of imagination from reason because imagination, being the dynamic power, is the true intellect of man. Reality is not static but dynamic. Man can choose to be free. True reason is one with imagination. It is the ratio which is made to be destroyed that other ratios may follow later. Imagination is creativity, the destruction of the Ratio, of any ratio. Creativity is the exposure of Error: in history, the creative are those who show all men that all men may be free. For this reason, the artist is a prophet. In history, all errors are one and the same error: the error that man cannot be free.

NOTES

III

[1] Rose,"Structure of Blake's Jerusalem,"BR, 40, in disagreeing with Karl Kiralis' view of Jerusalem ("The Theme and Structure of William Blake's Jerusalem,"The Divine Vision, 141-143) that the poem is organized according to the order of "the ages of man," shows that "the figures of the Zoas" control the imagery in Jerusalem, and that the Zoas' preoccupations, both individually and collectively, dominate each chapter of the poem.

[2] It fascinates the Blake reader to see how Blake critics have associated his work with many esoteric and mundane movements which were prevalent in his time. His work has undergone rigorous examinations as exercises in mysticism, cosmogony, religion, psychology, pre-marxism, mythology, and politics. There is little doubt that all of these theories have some truth, as long as one remembers that Blake saw all history as one and that he used eclectically every form of knowledge that could contribute to his personal vision of man's fall and regeneration.

[3] Frye, Fearful Symmetry,206-235, describes the fluctuation of man's development as a circular motion from Urizen to Orc and back. Frye shows that all fallen history is based on this circular motion and he calls it the "Orc cycle."

[4] Rose's illuminating article, "Wheels Within Wheels in Blake's Jerusalem,"

SIR, 36-47, refers to the many instances that Blake uses the wheel symbolism and he shows the distinction that Blake makes between Ezekiel's wheels that "are identified with the spirit, the creative power itself," and the Urizenic wheels that "are abstract notions, a shadowy power" (37).

[5] Bloom, *Blake's Apocalypse*, 174, says "*Africa* is more of a catalogue than it is a poem, and has little aesthetic value." Bloom, in fact, answers his own criticism by observing later that the "Africa" section of *The Song of Los* is concerned not so much with aesthetic values but it carries "the burden of religious and intellectual history from Adam and Noah to Rousseau and Voltaire...." Bloom surmises further that "Probably Blake was so hurried because *Africa* is such a ghastly succession of disasters, demonstratimg the progressive dominion of the laws of Urizen over all cultures."

[6] The illustrations to *The Book of Urizen*, which are referred to in this discussion, are taken from the Facsimile of this book which was published by the William Blake Trust in 1958. Seven dopies of the original are known.

[7] Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, 213, says that three Orc cycles occur during the African phase of history: "The African civilization comes to a close with the collapse of the third or Elohim cycle, recorded in the story of Adam and Eve, in which the two great symbols of the dying Orc, the cursed serpent and the tree of death, make their appearance." Frye's short discussion of Africa recognizes only Egypt and Ethiopia. Since Blake demonstrates a knowledge of several more African countries (J 72:712), the three Orc cycles undoubtedly spread across these lands. In my discussion of Africa, I have identified three periods of African glory and despair: the "Golden Age" of flourishing development; the period of tyranny and decline; and the

time since the fifteenth century when Africa became a continent for exploitation of human and natural resources by European traders and governments.

[8] The illustrations to The Song of Los, which are referred to here, are taken from the Facsimile of this book which was published by Wm. Muir, 1890.

[9] Keynes, The Song of Los. Facsimile.

[10] Northrop Frye in Fearful Symmetry, 212-213, observes that both "the Iliad and the Odyssey open with a reference to a paradisal Ethiopia," and that it is in Ethiopia "that Coleridge sees himself with the flashing eyes and floating hair of an Orc who has drunk the milk of Paradise." In "Kubla Khan," Coleridge refers again to an "Abyssinian maid" who is drawn as the beautiful maid of Paradise. Furthermore, Samuel Johnson's Rasselas descends from Ethiopia to Egypt; and Swedenborg, who influenced Blake in his early, formative years, also gives the Africans a very high place in the spiritual world.

[11] Ibid., 212.

[12] The Egyptian "Golden Age" was truly one of great invention and development. The manufacture of linen had already so advanced by the first dynasty that there has been little improvement ever since. Egyptian jewellery was justly celebrated for its intricacy and variety of materials. A calendar was invented as an aid in anticipating the annual inundation of the Nile. The nobility lived luxuriously in rectangular houses with brick or wood-vaulted roofs which often contained well-appointed, separate living and sleeping quarters along with baths and toilets. There were wooden beds

and chairs upholstered in leather or cloth and small stone dinner tables; while alabaster chinaware alternated with rough pottery in serving a wide variety of poultry, fish, meat, cereals, fruit, and drink, including wine and beer.

[13] Even King Herodatus was intrigued to the point where he asked and questioned the priests of Elephantine about their knowledge of these ruins. At Meroe are to be found relics of distant time: stelae in fine basalt that are deeply engraved with writing; fragments of white plaster that once covered shining forts and temples; scraps of painted pottery, stones that are still vividly decorated; and granite rams of Amun-Re, god of the sun. Around the palace are the ruins and occupation mounds of household retainer and priests of the royal cult, of stables and offices of commerce. Well-made ramps and girdle walls surround a lengthy complex of buildings, colonnaded, sheltered from the sun, skillfuly constructed, suggesting a leisurely society.

[14] Davidson, The Lost Cities of Africa, 63, says that the "Egyptian dynastic civilization was not born in a void; it emerged from a Neolithic womb, and this womb was African....'God's Land' with all its great ancestral spirits lay, for dynastic Egypt, neither in the east nor in the north, but far to the south and west." He suggests further that the earliest forms of ram and sun worship which were made famous along the Nile might have been derived from "upper Africa" where they have continued to flourish. He also observes, 58, that Lhote's work in the Sahara has suggested that peoples of Negro type were painting men and women with a beautiful and

sensitive realism before 3,000 B.C. and were, perhaps, "among the originators of naturalistic human portraiture."

[15] Davidson, The African Slave Trade, 8-9, points out that the old states of Africa "were seldom or never conquered from outside the continent." He observes that Europeans were not only kept out of Africa because of the difficult terrain they had to traverse, the hot climate, and malaria, but chiefly because of "the Striking-power of African armies." As far as Davidson can tell it was not until 1441 when Antam Goncalvez and Nuno Tristao from Portugal captured Moorish slaves near Morocco that contact was made again with Africa.

[16] I am not suggesting here that Blake actually made public speeches on behalf of the enslaved African; nor was his poems used in the same manner as Cowper's "The Negroes Complaint,"of which thousands of copies were made and distributed all over Britain and was also set to music and sung as a ballad of popular protest against slavery. But what Blake has to say shows that he was fully aware of what was happening around him and he responded passionately in "The Little Black Boy" and the Visions of the Daughters of Albion. Publicly, his engraving of Stedman's book on slavery in Surinam would have shown his sympathies.

[17] Frye, Fearful Symmetry, 212, says: "In the 'Preludium' to America Orc is addressed as 'the image of God who dwells in darkness of Africa'. This means among other things that the enslaved negro, the fallen child of the sun, is one of the central symbols of the oppression of fallen man, and the chimney-sweep and 'little black boy' of the Songs of Innocence are

modulations of this symbol."

[18] Robert Gleckner, "Point of View and Context in Blake's Songs," *Blake, A Collection of Critical Essays*, 8-9, is instructive in this regard. He argues that " a constant awareness of the context or state in which a poem appears is indispensable" or the poem can become inconsequential. He illustrates his view by quoting Blake's early biographer, Thomas Wright, on "My Pretty Rose Tree." Of course, Jacob Bronowski, *William Blake and the Age of Revolution*, David Erdman, *Blake, Prophet Against Empire*, and Mark Schorer, *The Politics of Vision*, have made strong arguments in favour of seeing Blake's work as a response to the political and social conditions of his time. Hence Bronowski, 36, says: "Blake did not merely live through [the turbulent times]: he lived them, in his own impersonal life; and he lived them into his prophetic books....Until we know these [the events that occurred in his times], we shall not understand Blake's poems, we shall not understand his thought, because we shall not speak his language." Erdman, 4, says that the difficulty for Blake's readers in perceiving his work stems "from a failure to enter imaginatively into Blake's times." In showing the failure of critics to appreciate Blake's early work, Erdman, 6, says: "Failure to recognize the element of London radicalism in his early work has sent readers of Blake off to a bad start and has also distorted the general picture of eighteenth-century British culture, through omission of Blake's important contribution to the democratic side."

[19] Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, I, 18. Clarkson, 24, sees this evil as spreading all over the globe: "...if we

were to take the vast extent of space occupied by these crimes and sufferings from the heart of Africa to its shores, and that which they filled on the continent of America and the islands adjacent, and were to join the crimes and sufferings in one to those in the other by the crimes and sufferings which took place in the track of the vessels successively crossing the Atlantic, we should behold a vast belt as it were of physical and moral evil, reaching through land and ocean to the length of nearly half the circle of the globe."

[20] These remarks are cited by Davidson, *The African Slave Trade*, 5-6.

[21] Cited by Hiro, *Black British, White British*, xiii.

[22] Kant, *Sämtliche Werke*, 225; Herder, *Ausgewählte Werke*, III, 155-156.

[23] These passages from Hegel's work are cited by Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Homecoming*, 41-42.

[24] Captain John Gabriel Stedman had been sent on an expedition under Swiss Commander Louis Henry Fourgeoud to protect the Dutch Settlers against the rebel negroes who had been treated badly and were now revolting and wreaking revenge. Stedman served in Surinam between 1772-1777, married a mulatto slave Joanna (daughter of a rich Dutch planter Kruyhoff), had a son by her, and left them behind. The full title of Stedman's two volume book, which was published in 1796, is *Narrative of a five years expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America: from the year 1772 to 1777: elucidating the History of the country, and describing its Productions, viz. Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles,*

Trees, Shrubs, Fruits, & Roots; with an account of the Indians of Guiana & Negroes of Guinea. Erdman, Prophet Against Empire, 213, notes that "With more than his usual care Blake engraved at least sixteen plates, including nearly all those which illustrate slave conditions."

[25] Stedman, Narrative, 1,62,54. Stedman, 1,73, also reports witnessing after a battle on the river Corrantine, that "ring-leading negroes were roasted alive by half-dozens in a shocking manner, being chained to stakes in the midst of surrounding flames." Another incident, II,25, shows "the dreadful spectacle of a beautiful young mulatto girl, floating on her back, with her hands tied behind her, her throat most shockingly cut, and stabbed in the breast with a knife in more than eight or ten different places." The cause for this barbarism appeared to be the jealousy of her mistress who suspected "that her husband might fall in love with this unfortunate female." Blake engraved some of the most gruesome sketches: these included the "Negro hung alive by the Ribs to a Gallows (I,110)"; a drawing of " a black man suspended alive from a gallows, by the ribs, between which, with a knife, was first made an incision, and then clinched an iron hook with a chain." Erdman, Prophet Against Empire, 214, says that "the image of the courageous rebel on the cruciform rack [The Execution of "Breaking on the Rack" in Stedman's Narrative, plate 71] bit into his [Blake's] heart, and in the Preludium of America he drew Orc in the same posture to represent the spirit of human freedom defiant of tyranny."

[26] Ibid., 213. Erdman says "We know he [Blake] was working on them [Stedman's engravings] during the production of his Visions of the Daughters of Albion

because he turned in most of the plates in batches dated December 1, 1792, and December 2, 1793." Erdman, 209-223, seems to be the only critic who has interpreted the *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* as a debate on the slave question. All the other critics of the poem have concentrated on the aspect of love and the general rights of man. He says, 211, that "we can understand the three symbolic persons of the myth, their triangular relationship, and their unresolved debate if we recognize them as, in part, poetic counterparts of the parliamentary and editorial debates of 1789-1793 on a bill for abolition of the British slave trade...."

[27] Clarkson, *Abolition of Slave Trade*, 1,470, says this "general feeling in behalf of the wrongs of Africa" was regarded as "a desirable thing" by "those in authority" and the king in 1788 directed that a committee of privy council be struck to study the conditions of the slave trade. However, the trade "was so connected with the interest of individuals, and so interwoven with the commerce and revenue of the country, that an hasty abolition of it without a previous inquiry appeared to them to be likely to be productive of as much misery as good."

[28] Stedman, *Narrative*, II,273 and I, 326.

[29] This suggestion is taken from Erdman, *Prophet Against Empire*, 216. Stedman, *Narrative*, 14-15, describes this incident as follows: "A young female slave, whose only covering was a rag tied round her loins, which, like her skin, was lacerated in several places by the stroke of the whip. The crime which had been committed by this miserable victim of tyranny,

was the non-performance of a task to which she was apparently unequal, for which she was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes, and to drag, during some months, a chain several yards in length, one end of which was locked round her ankle, and to the other was affixed a weight of a least a hundred pounds." Blake, in the *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (plate 2), has another drawing where Oothoon and Bromion are "Bound back to back in Bromion's caves." This is a further indication of Oothoon's enslavement.

[30] Erdman, *Prophet Against Empire*, 217. Erdman says "Stedman's anxieties shed light on the moral paralysis of Theotormon; yet we must also be aware of the analogous but more impersonal and political quandary of the Abolition Society, whose trimming announcement in February 1792 that they did not desire 'the Emancipation of the Negroes in the British Colonies' but only sought to end 'the Trade for Slaves' conflicted with their own humanitarian professions and involved an acceptance of the basic premises of the slavers: that slaves were legitimate commodities...." It is also noticeable that as soon as the Slave Trade Bill was passed in 1807 the Society dissolved, although slavery and the slave trade continued to exist.

[31] Ibid., 220. Erdman observes that "Under Bromion's words Blake draws a picture [plate 2 of the *VDA*], stretching across the page, of a Negro worker smitten into desperate horisontality, wilted like the heat-blasted vegetation among which he has been working with a pickaxe, and barely able to hold his face out of the dirt."

[32] Davidson, *The African Slave Trade*, 3, reports that Antonio Malfante wrote in 1447 in his traveller's memoir of the "great cities" he had seen. But

Malfante also claimed that "carnal acts" between fathers and daughters and brothers and sisters were common. He was also one of the first people to create the myth that Africans "are eaters of human flesh." A Dutch report (cited by Davidson, 230-231) of the seventeenth century gives a glowing view of Benin and is particularly impressed with the palace of the King: "The King's court is very great within it having many great four-square Plaines, which round about them have Galleries, wherein there is alwais watch kept; I was so far within the Court, that I passed over four such great Plaines, and wheresoever I looked, still I saw Gates upon Gates, to goe into other places, and in that sort I went as far as any Netherlander was, which was to the Stable where his best Horses stood...."

[33] Clarkson, *The Abolition of the Slave Trade*, I, 40-44.

[34] Erdman, *Prophet Against Empire*, 209, interprets Blake's lines from "A Song of Liberty," "Look up! look up! O citizen of London, enlarge thy countenance! O Jew, leave counting gold! return to thy oil and wine....," as follows: "Most of his life Blake was more or less confident that the sons and daughters of Albion ...would enlarge their views rather than their investments....For 'counting gold' is not abundant living; and grasping colonies and shedding blood whether in the name of royal dignity or in the name of commerce is not living at all, but killing." Erdman, 219, also points out that the British government "sacrificed more than 4,000,000 pounds in an effort to conquer the French colony in Santo Domingo and maintain or restore Negro slavery." At this point London merchant firms held investments in Santo Domingo in the then large sum of 300,000 pounds.

This is also one of the chief reasons why the abolitionists took so long in persuading the government to bring about abolition. Davidson, *The African Slave Trade*, 60-61, reports that the phrase "As wealthy as a West Indian" was very common in Blake's day. This phrase is aptly illustrated by William Miles who "could walk into the port of Bristol with three ha'pence in his pocket and make a fortune" out of selling sugar which he brought from Jamaica and sold at a "fat profit."

[35] Mark Schorer in *The Politics of Vision*, 167-168, although not mentioning that the tremendous industrial expansion occurred because of the new demands created by the two-way slave trade, does, however, identify most of the causes. He says that the "dates of Blake's life (1757-1827) correspond as exactly as any can with the change from what Marx called 'the age of manufacture' to 'the factory age.' This change was hastened...[by] a tremendous expansion of commerce and an extension of trade that destroyed the barriers of the village market and opened up a continent and more to the products of British industry." Schorer also notes that as agriculture failed in the country side, a large population swarmed to the towns where they became easy prey for industrialists looking for cheap labour.

[36] Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, 57.

[37] In regard to this point, Rose, "Wheels Within Wheels in Blake's *Jerusalem*," *SIR*, 41, says that "Blake continues a running commentary on the industrial revolution" and that "He is literally and symbolically with the laborers at the mills." Bronowski, *The Age of Revolution*, 118, argues that Blake is

so caught up in studying the impact of the Industrial Revolution that "Los and Enitharmon become the great industrial figures, master of the furnaces and mistress of the looms, in *Milton* and in *Jerusalem* after 1804." He claims further that "the world of *Milton* [compare particularly M6:486] is frankly that of the Industrial Revolution; and Los and Enitharmon become symbols of that revolution." One cannot overemphasize the point that Blake's imagery and symbolism are from Blake's peculiar manner of seeing the many historical,political, and mythical traditions that were prevalent in his time, and that difficulty in interpreting his work occurs only when one ignores this fact. Winifred Nowottny, *The Language Poets Use*, 43, underscores this view when in citing *Jerusalem* (12:632, lines 26-33) she says that "in order to ensure that objects are considered under those aspects the poet wants considered, the poet must use in his poems the terminology that brings into play those particular structures of categories(scientific, historical, moral, religious, psychological, etc.) in which it seems interesting to think or feel about an object."

[38] Rose, "Wheels Within Wheels in Blake's *Jerusalem*," *SIR*,41.

[39] Bronowski, *The Age of Revolution*,106, says the factory workers broke the machines because the machines belonged to the owners. This form of protest existed "throughout the eighteenth century whenever there had been wage quarrels." Reference has already been made to the slave revolts in Santo Domingo and other territories. As for the revolt against industrial machinery, Schorer, *Politics of Vision*, 169, notes: "From the beginning of the change [to machinery], the laborers had recognized the menace of

technological developments to their interest and had promptly seized upon their one defense, the destruction of machines. The Spitalfields Riots of 1763 were only one of the many riots in which tools were destroyed and factories burned."

[40] Nowottny, The Language Poets Use, 30, says: "The separate words in a poem are not merely symbols in contextual settings but are themselves equally contexts for each other and combining with each other to provoke a coherent response, so that the significance of the poem is always more than the sum of each separate signification, no matter how carefully these separate significations are determined."

[41] I have used the reproduction from the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection which has appeared as Songs of Innocence & of Experience and was published by The Orion Press. This, according to Keynes, is one of the latest copies of the poems. There are twenty-six copies of the book still extant, but not all of them have the complete set of fifty-four plates.

[42] Martin K. Nurmi's article, "Fact and Symbol in 'The Chimney Sweeper' of Blake's Songs of Innocence," Blake: A Collection of Critical Essays, 15-22, is insightful and instructive. Nurmi, 15, says that Blake presupposes a knowledge of the wretched conditions of the time:

> Writing at the time of the passage of the 'Chimney Sweeper's Act' of 1788, when newspapers and reformers like Jonas Hanway were publicizing the treatment of the sweeps, Blake could depend on his readers' being aware of the facts in a way that modern readers are not. And he can therefore express his deep outrage obliquely and ironically, through

the understated discourse of boys who, in the symbolic context of *Songs of Innocence & of Experience,* have somehow learned to preserve their humanity in circumstances that are all but completely dehumanizing.

Moreover, it is worth noting that many years after the poem's composition Charles Lamb chose it as a contribution to James Montgomery's *Chimney Sweeper's Friend and Climbing Boy's Album*. This was a book of propaganda against social injustice.

43

Here I have to disagree with critics who not only see the children in the *Songs of Innocence* as innocent or naive, but in fact claim that Blake was innocent or naive. I accept Bronowski's contention, *The Age of Revolution*, 14, that Blake saw the human condition as "not an abstract play of ideals; it was experienced in famine and oppression, in poverty and neglect." This is why Blake spoke so insistently against social injustice.

44

Nurmi, "Fact and Symbol in 'The Chimney Sweeper,'" *Blake: A Collection of Critical Essays*," 16, notes that after seven years of apprenticeship the young chimney sweeper was too big to enter the chimneys and was therefore dismissed. "Chimney sweeping left children with kneecaps twisted and spines and ankles deformed, from crawling up chimneys as small as nine or even seven inches in diameter, with 'chimney sweep's cancer' of the scrotum resulting from the constant irritation of the soot, with respiratory ailments, and eye inflammations." The men who worked in the coal pits were also constantly covered in soot; and as the demand for coal to feed the new factories was insatiable, it meant long hours at poor wages with resultant respiratory and other related diseases.

[45] Ibid., 18. Nurmi cites Jonas Hanway in regard to the fact that chimney sweeps were not permitted to attend church: "As an instance in what manner these poor children are treated, I remember an anecdote of a little band of them, who had the fortune to be supplied with Sundays clothing: their faces, however, proclaimed them chimney-sweepers. Curiosity, or information that the churches were houses of God, carried them within the gates of a church; but alas! they were driven out by the beadle, with this taunt,'What have chimney sweepers to do in a Church?'"

[46] Vallieres, *White Niggers of America*, 21.

[47] In an otherwise insightful reading of "The Little Black Boy," Bloom, *Blake's Apocalypse*, 43, suggests that the poem is "one of the most deliberately misleading and ironic of all Blake's lyrics." Unfortunately, Bloom does not say why Blake is "misleading " his readers. After all, when this poem was published the climate was not as suspicious as in 1798, for example, when "The Beast & the Whore ruled without control" (Anno. to Watson:383). Voices of protest against slavery were heard everywhere in England and Blake's voice did not need to speak in a hush. Bloom's belief is right, however, if it opposes Blake's many critics who have built up a misleading body of thought about the poem. Jean Hagstrum, *Poet and Painter*, 80, accuses Blake of being "Slack and sentimental," and Ralph D. Eberly, "Blake's 'The Little Black Boy,'" *The Explicator*,Item 42, states categorically that "Blake is confused." Jacob Adler, "Symbol and Meaning in 'The Little Black Boy,'" *MLN*, 412-413, and Gleckner, *The Piper & the Bard*, 102-106, tend to obscure Blake's meaning by suggesting that

there are grammatical and metaphorical ambiguities in the poem. Note particularly Adler's discussion of the body as cloud and as the black color which absorbs heat. Blake, as Frye observes in Fearful Symmetry, 4, is certainly not that obscure. His simplicity and ironical method confuse the critic who must see something obscure in Blake. E.D. Hirsch, Jr., Innocence and Experience, 179, says "there is a lack of moral fervour in the poem." Hirsch misses the cruel irony and understatement of Blake's language and tone. Moreover, as noted earlier, the topic of racial discrimination was a well-known one, hence Blake did not have to be blunt. It is interesting to note, however, that Hirsch recognizes that the poem is an "indictment of slavery," a view which Keynes, Songs of Innocence and of Experience, 10, and Damon, Philosophy and Symbols, 269, agree with. Erdman, "Blake's Vision of Slavery," Blake: A Collection of Critical Essays," 90, surprisingly does not make an in-depth analysis of "The Little Black Boy." Apart from saying that "Blake's 'Little Black Boy' coincided with the early phase of this campaign [the abolition of the slave trade]," he ignores the poem. It seems to me that Erdman, having understood the kind of racism which existed in 1789 and having done such an expert analysis of the slave question, would have been the critic best qualified to analyse this poem. Damon's view in Philosophy and Symbols, 269, that Blake "did not believe in the equality of the negroes and whites" is not only wrong but unfortunate, because contrary to Damon's usual painstaking collection of evidence, there is no evidence presented to support this belief.

[48] Gleckner, The Piper & the Bard, 104-105, claims that "The 'southern wild' is much the same as the 'valley wild' through which the Piper wandered."

[49] Nowottny, The Language Poets Use, 144 .

[50] Adler, "Symbol and Meaning in 'The Little Black Boy,'" MLN, 414. He is supported by Eberly, "Blake's 'The Little Black Boy,'" The Explicator, Item 42, who says that "the blacks have made the greater spiritual development because their dark skins are 'sunburnt' by love." This view of Adler and Eberly has been challenged by many black writers who have rejected the belief that wisdom is achieved through the torturous experiences that the black-skinned person must endure in a racist society. Therefore Oswald Mbuyiseni Mtshali, a Zulu exiled South African poet (who surely knows the real meaning of suffering through one's skin color), says in his poem "The Washerwoman's Prayer" (Sounds of a Cowhide Drum, 6) that there is no virtue in suffering because one is black. The washerwoman, who for countless years has slaved her "raw,knobbly, and calloused" hands to the bone "to wash her master's clothes/Soiled by a lord's luxuries," is ironically informed by the Nobodaddy God of the Church that she must not lament her agony but carry her task with wisdom and forebearance: "Suffer for those who live in gilded sin,/Toil for those who swim in a bowl of pink gin." Another contemporary black poet, Keorapetse Kgositsile in "Notes From No Sanctuary" (The Present is a Dangerous Place to Live, 19), claims, bitterly, that the result of the black man's suffering has been a deadliness of culture and a deceptive belief that he has been integrated into the white world:

So let's move. But we have been dead so long and continue.
There will be no songs this year. We no longer sing.
Except perhaps some hideous gibberish like james brown making
believe he is American or Beautiful or proud.
Or some fool's reference to allah who, like jehovah, never
gave a two-bit shit about niggers.

[51] Nurmi, "Fact and Symbol in 'The Chimney Sweeper' of Blake's Songs of Innocence," Blake: A Collection of Critical Essays, 20, says: "Although the sweep is like the Negro boy a slave and like him black, the Negro boy can envision a release from his slavery and blackness because his mother's wise teaching has enabled him to see life so comprehensively that he can feel tender now toward the English boy while he waits for the cloud of white supremacy to vanish." Wicksteed, Blake's Innocence and Experience, 114, says that "In 'The Little Black Boy' the Mother begins with the wisdom of generation, and the little black boy continues with the wisdom of regeneration."

[52] Hirsch, Jr., Innocence and Experience, 180.

[53] Gleckner, The Piper & the Bard, 106.

[54] Keynes, Songs of Innocence and Experience, 10.

[55] Ibid., 9. Keynes says: "The little black boy sitting at his mother's knee seems in the first stanza to deplore the blackness of his face, since it hides the purity of his soul, whereas the English child is white both inside and out. His mother, looking towards the rising sun, explains how God gives warmth and comfort to all living things by the light of the sun."

[56] Bloom, Blake's Apocalypse, 44.

57 I suggested earlier that Blake attempts to reawaken language from the "deadness" of abstraction. In "The Little Black Boy," through the imaginative use of imagery and symbol, and, above all, his explicit and ironic designs, he succeeds truly in his task and clearly answers the doubts of many of his critics. The ironical stance that the two children take in the second illustration to the poem is Blake's comment on the gleeful, inverted statement of racism of the black boy. Hence, even in the face of God and contrary to the intention of the black boy, the white boy leads the way and he is decidedly shading the black boy who seems in fear of the God-figure. Moreover, the boy has kept his negroid features and colour. Blake's intention is clear: he does not "wound the poem" (as Eberly claims he does) by refusing to let the black boy say "and I am black, but O! my soul is beyond all distinction of color" (Eberly, "Blake's 'Little Black Boy,'" The Explicator, Item 42).

58 Hungerford, Shores of Darkness, 62. Hungerford, who treats the Eighteenth century mythologists with some scorn, suggests that Blake erected out of "the misty concepts of the speculative mythologists... a poetic scheme which has never been very intelligible." As I show in my discussion of Blake's awareness of the mythologists, and as seen in everything that Blake does, he is master of his own house and his eclectic habit helped him to integrate some of the views of the mythologists into his own wherever he found it necessary. Todd in Tracks of Snow, 38-42, says that although Blake drew from Bryant and other mythologists everything was transformed through Jacob Boehme's belief that the Golden Age was not only antediluvian but also continually existent

in Eternity. Once this belief became clear to Blake, he became discontented with the works of the Antique. When Hungerford's book appeared in 1941, the notion of Blake's unintelligilibity seems to have had some currency.

[59] Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, 172-173.

[60] Todd, *Tracks in the Snow*, 38, notes that Blake was not only aware of Bryant's book but engraved "a vignette of the Deluge." It is also noteworthy that Blake became apprenticed to James Basire in August 1772. Basire was engraver to the London Society of Antiquaries. Blake spent many hours engraving the work of antiquaries like Bryant who showed particular interest in the myths of Greece and Rome.

[61] Bloom, *Blake's Apocalypse*, 419. Several Blake scholars have remarked on Blake's perceptive reading of the Bible and his use of Biblical language. Particularly instructive in this regard is Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*; Damon, *Philosophy and Symbols*; Rose, "Circumcision Symbolism in Blake's *Jerusalem*," *SIR*, 16-25, "Wheels Within Wheels in Blake's Jerusalem," *SIR*, and "'Forms Eternal Exist Forever': The Covenant of the Harvest in Blake's Prophetic Poems," *Visionary Forms Dramatic*, 443-462.

[62] Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, 214, says that Fuzon is "the element of fire in nature which is never quite put out." Fisher, *Valley of Vision*, 195, says that Fuzon is "the 'fusion' of the energetic and rational aspects of life which move in the direction of human redemption through the planned revolt of the exodus." Fuzon, in the role of Orc, is reminiscent of many revolutionary characters, both in the Bible and outside of it. Therefore Balder, Samson, and Odin are Orc figures (See Frye's *Fearful Symmetry*, 215, for

discussion on this point). Absalom in his revolt against his father, David, is much like Fuzon; and like Fuzon in the *Book of Ahania* (4:252), Absalom is nailed to a tree. Absalom's body was pierced with a spear while he was hanging on a tree by his golden hair.

63
Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, 214.

64
Ibid., 366.

65
Hungerford, *Shores of Darkness*, 30-32, suggests that Wilford's view was underpinned by the forged papers of so called "learned Hindus, the 'pundits' to whom [Wilford] constantly refers":

> [The] pundits sized up their imaginative, naive, and gullible English patron. They saw that he was interested in collecting evidence which would show some connection between the mythology of India and the legendary history of Britain. Obligingly they commenced to forge documents which they supposed would interest their patron. They altered existing documents, inserted extra pages, wrote variants of their own legends. One entered with such spirit into the deception that he forged a whole poem twelve thousand lines long.

66
Cited by Saurat, *Blake and Modern Thought*, 107-108.

67
Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, 173.

68
Apart from the similarities and differences between Blake and the *Gita* which are noted in the discussion on India, there is also some similarity and differences between Blake's vision of the four zoas and the *Gita's* reference to the three gunas who are embodied in Krishna. Krishna is not in the gunas when the body is a prey to the gunas; so, too, the four zoas are truly embodied in Christ when they work together imaginatively and do not prey on Albion. It is also important to observe that Damon sees enough

of a similarity in the guna Tamas to suggest that Blake may have been influenced by this fact when he named Tharmas. As in the case of the four zoas, the entire world is deluded by the moods and mental states which are the expression of the gunas. The gunas alone are the doers of every action and emanate from Prakriti, the Body. Here Blake differs with the *Gita's* belief, because the zoas are all spiritual beings who have fallen into the body of Error, and unlike the *Gita* which claims that a man can only become immortal when he frees himself of his gunas (or bodily expression), Blake says that man in fact needs all his zoas to act together before regeneration can occur. Although the *Gita* correctly states the question of the Prakriti and the Knower (Body and Soul), it opts for a situation where the static contradiction between the Body and Soul or Devourer and Prolific will always be present. This is also the main reason why the *Gita* argues so strongly for the renunciation of the senses and freedom from the gunas or bodily activities.

[69] Harper, *Blake's Neoplatonism*, 8, remarks that there was much interest by scholars in the work of Plato and the Neoplatonists, and that Thomas Taylor, whose five volume "first complete translation of Plato in English" was regarded as "a landmark in classical scholarship," was also the chief spokesman for the Neoplatonists (which included writings by Plato, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Proclus). Furthermore, Harper suggests that the Romantic poets, Blake included (though Harper does not have absolute evidence), were particularly inspired by Plato's reliance on myth. Harper's work is of some significance and sheds some light on certain aspects of Blake's work. However, in view of the fact that much of what he says is based

on speculation, I feel that his emphasis on the connection between Blake, Thomas Taylor, and Plato's work is overdone at times. The arbitrary assigning of poetic symbols like serpents and dragons in Blake's work to Platonic borrowing (106), when there were other traditions from which Blake could have derived these symbols (such as Druidism, for example), is particularly noticeable in this respect. Harper, 126,156, 169,170,180, speculates further that "The Ancient of Days" design in Europe, the cave, wheel, loom, the oak symbol of "The Little Black Boy," and the name of Tharmas are probably all neo-Platonic in origin. However, as always, it is important to observe that even if Blake has obtained some of his ideas from Plato, Blake is in control of his narrative and makes all borrowed material his own .

[70] Ibid., 49.

[71] ibid., 48: "Taylor's chief criticism of Sydenham...was that he had started the study of Plato too late in life to be properly schooled in the arcane elements of the Platonic theology."

[72] Altizer, The New Apocalypse, 124. But this view, in the light of the brilliant scholarship by Frye, Bloom, Erdman, and Rose (to name a few critics) is being proven increasingly suspect and incorrect. Although these critics admit that Jerusalem is a difficult poem to understand at a first reading, they show that it is not impossible to comprehend the poem.

[73] Frye, Fearful Symmetry, 4. Rose, in "Mental Forms Creating': 'Fourfold Vision' and the Poet as Prophet in Blake's Designs and Verse," JAAC , 173,

says that Blakes's poetry "is not a secretive cabala or mystery open only to the initiate. Blake conceives of himself, and of poets in general, as prophets who reveal, but do not clothe in mystery, the truth that is reality. Blake is not a sorcerer or mystic, Neoplatonic or gnostic."

[74] Hungerford, *Shores of Darkness*, 38.

[75] Harper, *Blake's Neoplatonism*, 61.

[76] Although this idea of Locke is scattered throughout his book, this summary of his view is taken from Thomas Taylor, who Harper, 62, says represents "Locke as the Romantics understood him."

[77] Cited by Ibid., 79.

[78] Coleridge, *Animae Poetae*, 115. Blake's criticism of Wordsworth, "I see in Wordsworth the Natural Man rising up against the Spiritual Man Continually, & then he is No Poet but a Heathen Philosopher at Enmity against all true Poetry or Inspiration" and "Wordsworth must know that what he Writes Valuable is Not to be found in Nature" (Anno. to Wordsworth 1, 44: 782-783), stems from his belief that Wordsworth's immense preoccupation with Nature "weaken[s] deaden[s] & obliterate[s] Imagination " (Anno. to Wordsworth 44:783).

[79] I would like to take issue again with Harper's claim that Blake's attitude to Greece in the eighteenth century is based on a time factor. Harper suggests that when Blake was copying the ancient models and in his early years of writing he was "thrilled" by the creations of Greece, and that Blake criticized Greek art at the beginning of the nineteenth century

only (Blake's Neoplatonism, 35). However, Blake who recognized the immense value of Greek civilization (as I have shown), as he did earlier of the Egyptian, Jewish, and Hindu civilizations, felt that in his own time the Greek influence had become anti-imaginative; that it had become the influence of the decadent rather than the imaginative Greece. Blake was not alone in his criticism of Greece. Todd in Tracks of Snow, 33, remarks that Jacob Bryant (whose views Blake knew of and even supported) had a particularly low opinion of the Greeks. Furthermore, Sir William Chambers, Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy, denied the Greeks had done anything which the Egyptians had not done before them, even refusing the Greeks the credit of the invention or establishment of the classical orders.

[80] Frye, Fearful Symmetry, 148.

[81] Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, 43, shows that in his response to events that surrounded him Blake belonged to a strong tradition of dissent.

Bronowski, The Age of Revolution, 173, calls the period that spans Blake's life "the most violent age of English history," because of the many wars, both nation against nation and man against machine, that occurred. He also claims, 4, that from 1760 to 1815 "the minds of men were obsessed with revolution."

[82] Erdman, Prophet Against Empire, 137, cites the following remark by Price: "Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom, and writers in its defence! The times are auspicious." Erdman says that this remark was made in an

address before the society for the Commemoration of the Revolution (1688) in Great Britain on November 4, 1789. Thus, says Erdman, when a year later Edmund Burke attacked the French revolution in the *Reflections*, he was roundly condemned by "the pens of a hundred writers in its [revolution's] defense, Blake's among them." Rousseau and Voltaire, in their many pronouncements, had a great deal of influence in the challenge of the State and Church's authority over man. It is also important to note, as Clarkson observes in *Abolition of the Slave Trade*, II, 123-124, that the French, like the English, had been stirred by the arguments against slavery. The French Abbé Proyart published in 1766 a *History of Loango* wherein he defended the moral and intellectual character of Africans and attacked slavery. And in 1785, Necker, who both Blake and historians claimed could have helped the King of France in his dealings with the Commoners but who was dismissed through bad and malicious advice of the nobles, observed that France's financial stability was based on the "near five hundred thousand" that worked on French-owned plantations in the West Indies. The followers of the revolution in France were soon able to recognize a common bond between their slavery and those of the blacks on French-owned plantations in the Caribbean. They, like the poverty-stricken industrial worker in England, realized that all slavery emanated from the same capitalists reinforced by the government and the Church.

[83] Erdman, *Prophet Against Empire*, 71-80. The remarkable value of Erdman's book is particularly noticeable in the discussion of this poem, which

shows how clearly Blake paralleled his work to what was happening to King George III in relation to the unpopular (from the ordinary Englishmen's standpoint) war in America. The following is an example of Erdman's scholarship:

> Blake...deals with a siege such as that of Calais[this is where Edward III conducted a ten-month siege" during which British soldiers died by the tens of thousands,'chiefly by the rage of the Bloody Flux,' ominous of future pestilence"]in his painting, 'A Breach in a City the Morning after the Battle,' exhibited in 1784 with 'War unchained.' In the breach in the city wall lie dead and dying warriors, wept over by wives and parents. Later use of the same figures and wall in the title page and frontispiece of *America* reinforces the impression that Blake had the American War in mind in the first place.

84

The order or non-order of these three poems has been the cause for speculation among Blake critics and has led at times to incomplete readings of the narrative of European history that Blake is developing. W.H. Stevenson in "The Shaping of Blake's America,'"*MLR*, 503, contends that Blake writes in "no specific order" and that in the case of *America* "It was an empirical procedure; far from having predetermined the content, aim and order of *America*, Blake seems to have gone from stage to stage with little notion of where the next move would take him." Erdman's overwhelming evidence in his book, *Prophet Against Empire*, is enough of an answer to Stevenson. But more to the point is Blake's own account of man's fall and regeneration, which is whole and complete. The three historical poems under discussion belong firmly to his view of man and history. The subject of these poems is often the same; the language of hope and despair abounds in all three prophecies; the Preludium of *Europe* continues that of *America*; warning is given in *America* of Orc's appearance in France, and the restrictive forms of tyranny are the same in each poem. G.E. Bentley, Jr., "A Bibliographical Introduction," *William Blake, America: A Prophecy*, 6-7, published by The American Blake Foundation, says: "Blake wrote two other 'continent' poems, *Europe* (1794) and *The Song of Los* (1795) which is divided into 'Africa' and 'Asia' and these are closely associated with *America*." He says further, that "*Europe* is not only the same size as *America*, but *Europe* plates 1, 6-7, 11, 17, 12-14, 18, 16, 10, 4, 15, 5, 8-9, and 2 are evidently etched on the verses of the copper plates of *America* plates 1-3, 5-18." Bentley also observes that Blake "evidently often sold *America* and *Europe* together."

My reading of these poems as one long continuous poem, having the order I suggest, overcomes the dilemma that faces Bloom, *Blake's Apocalypse*, 158. Although Bloom places *Europe* between *America* and *The French Revolution*, he finds it difficult to unravel the seventh and eighth Orc cycles of Blake's myth. Since Bloom sees *America* as the poem in which Orc finally triumphs over Urizen, *Europe* is supposed to be the triumphant stage of the Orc cycle or "part of a second coming of Jesus in "Blake's own time." In view of the fact that *Europe* does not end on an apocalyptic note, Bloom then calls *Europe* "the seventh major Orc cycle" and he wrongfully (as I show in the discussion of *Europe*) interprets the first four lines of Blake's poem as "a parody of Milton's Christmas Hymn, 'On the Morning of Christs's Nativity'."

Because Erdman, *Prophet Against Empire*, 246, and Michael J. Tolley, "Europe 'to those ychain'd in sleep,'" Visionary Forms Dramatic, 115, place America before Europe, they do not suffer from the difficulty that Bloom does. Both Erdman and Tolley suggest that Milton's Hymn is the key to Europe, and, says Erdman, Blake was drawing illustrations to Milton's poem at the time of writing Europe. Erdman does not refer to a "parody," and Tolley, 119, contends strongly that "Blake [is] looking very closely at Milton's Hymn," but instead of parodying Milton, "Europe is primarily a reworking of Milton's poem to fit Blake's understanding of the significance of the events Milton celebrated."

[85] Rose in his article "The Structure of Blake's Jerusalem," BR, 37, says that "All the short 'prophetic' poems [Europe being one of them] deal with the state of fallen man and the causes or results of the fall, but only in Jerusalem are they fully unified in one comprehensive structure that includes as well the many philosophical, psychological, political, and aesthetic themes to be found in Blake's work."

[86] Damon, Philosophy and Symbols, 6.

[87] Tolley, "Europe 'to those ychain'd in sleep,'" Visionary Forms Dramatic, 115.

[88] Ibid., 115. He supports this statement by giving a descriptive picture of the atmosphere of doom which he sees in Blake's designs on Europe. Hence he says:

> "Caterpillars and snails feed on the pages; spiders festoon them with their webs; more than forty flies decorate one page; serpents dominate two more. Other illustrations confront us with a lurking assassin and with sufferers from plague, cannibalism, imprisonment, and fiery war. There are angels, but they minister to a scaly warrior-king and a bat-winged pope; there are two fine young nudes, but they

blast pestilential hail over their page; another angelic figure clutches the back of her head in terror or despair...."

89 Stevenson, "The Shaping of Blake's '*America*,'" *MLR*, 501-502, says: "Certainly, *America* is not a book of late 1793, when the clouds of the Terror and the sedition trials were beginning to gather--that was the time for the gloom of *Europe*, rather than the superb enthusiasm of *America*."

90 Keynes, *Facsimile of Europe*.

91 My readings are taken from the *Facsimile of Europe* which was prepared for the Blake Trust in 1969 by the Trianon Press in Paris. Ten complete copies of this poem are still extant. The proofs that are being referred to here are owned, respectively, by the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York) and the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

92 This famous illustration, known as the "Ancient of Days" or "God Creating the Universe," is probably Blake's best representation of the awesome power of Urizen in the past and in his own time. Keynes in *Facsimile of Europe* says that "Blake took special delight in coloring this print." Blunt in "Blake's 'Ancient of Days': The Symbolism of the Compasses," in *Visionary Hand*, 70, says that this frontispiece is "one of Blake's most impressive inventions, and one which we know he was particularly fond, for he coloured a copy of it for Tatham on his deathbed."

93 Keynes in the *Facsimile of Europe* and Nurmi in "The 'Ancient of Days,'" *The Divine Vision*, 211, refer to *Paradise Lost* (VII: 225-231) as a

possible source of borrowing:

> He took the golden compasses, prepared
> In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
> This universe, and all created things.
> One foot he centered, and the other turned
> Round through the vast profundity obscure,
> And said, 'Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds,
> This be thy just circumference, O world!'

Nurmi in the same essay, 211, notes that Proverbs 8:27 may be another possible source: "When he established the heavens, I was there,/when he drew a circle on the face of the deep...." It is Nurmi, as well, following Erdman's dictum that one ought not to disregard the "concrete contemporary correspondences to Blake's symbols," who suggests in "The 'Ancient of Days,'" *The Divine Vision*, 207-216, that Blake may have known about an illustration of Andrew Motte which appeared in a standard edition of Newton's work which was published in 1792. While Nurmi observes "that there is no similarity between the two main figures," he does, however, show that among other correspondences "there are several significant parallels between the pictures as a whole: the compasses, the lighted spaces in the clouds, the rays of light radiating from spheres...." Anthony Blunt, in his essay "Blake's 'Ancient of Days ': The Symbolism of the Compasses," *Visionary Hand*, 87, observes that the motif of the compasses has a long history in Western art and literature. He says that Blake's design is "a compound of many elements. Based on a medieval theme, incorporating a Platonic symbol, and modelled in terms borrowed from Mannerist painting, it expresses a personal, anti-rational doctrine of the artist". Robert N. Essick, in "Blake's Newton," *BS*, 149-162, comments both on the similarity between the "Newton" drawing in the Tate Gallery, London (where Newton as a nude man seated on a massive rock leans over to measure with his compasses a triangle and arc inscribed on a partially open scroll) and that of Urizen as he is pictured struggling on plate twelve of The Book of Urizen and bent over in a rocky cave on plate nine. Essick, as well, refers to the many instances that the compasses appear in European history. In addition to those already mentioned, he notes (156) that in the visual arts the compasses appear "in Renaissance emblems of the goddess Geometria." Gilchrist, in his Life of William Blake, I, 303, prints a letter of August 23, 1855 wherein Samuel Palmer, a friend and patron of Blake's, reports that Durer's "Melancholy the Mother of Invention" hung in Blake's room "close by his engraving table." As Essick observes, Durer's melancholy is often associated with the abstract sciences, particularly geometry, and he concludes that Blake may have been influenced by this illustration as well as the powerful figure of Newton, the father of abstract science in his time. Rose, "The Spirit of The Bounding Line: Blake's Los," Criticism, 58, says that "Blake 's picture of Newton portrays the natural mathematician drawing lines like Los, for Los, too, has a 'Mathematic power.' However, Newton is a spectre who is 'Abstract Philosophy warring in enmity against Imagination' (J 5:624), and not 'the strength of Art.'" Furthermore, says Rose,

> "Newton's hand or hands are not 'hands divine inspir'd,' and his lines are not drawn upon 'the walls of shining heaven' which open windows into Eden. Newton's hands are rationally motivated and his lines are geometric abstractions made on a gyrating scroll, and he and his scroll are curled into an egoistic embryonic dot like Rembrandt's point of light."

Ault in his book, Visionary Physics, 2-4, also notes the similarity between the print of 'Newton' and "The Ancient of Days." He says that "Blake's print of 'Newton' (1795), unveils in stark visual form Blake's grasp of the extent to which Newton's vision had the power to provide substitute satisfaction for the powerful contrary drives of the imagination." "One of the most obvious visual features of this drawing," says Ault, "is the dominance of a tension between (a) triangular (or rectilinear) and curved forms, (b) symmetrical and asymmetrical forms, and (c) definite and indefinite forms." Ault observes that "The real contrast...is that between the human figure and the parody of himself he has drawn: and yet the very act of drawing the triangular figure is what has bent him into the almost serpentine form which makes the body conform to the drawing."

[94] Erdman, Prophet Against Empire, 190.

[95] Taylor, in "Providence and the Moment in Blake's Milton," BS, 47, says: "For Blake, the Second Coming is not to be only the unique event that concludes history, but a continually ongoing event that redeems man in history...." Furthermore, Taylor, 54, notes that because of the ever present vision of Christ, "even in the night of the 'dark Satanic Mills' of history there is still hope...." He illustrates this point by citing Milton (36:526).

[96] Rose, "The Symbolism of the Opened Center and Poetic Theory in Blake's Jerusalem," SIEL, 590.

[97] Erdman in "America: New Expanses," Visionary Forms Dramatic, 112, says:

> As history moved on, the Orc that appeared 'in the vineyards of red France' (E 15:2) became Napoleon; by 1804 Blake, instead of humming 'ca ira,' was arguing that 'Resistance & war is the Tyrants gain, that the 'iron hand' which 'crushed the Tyrants head...became a Tyrant in his stead' ("The Grey Monk"), Orc became (not the specious Urizenic dragon but) the serpent that Urizen believed him to be.

Erdman argues further, thus taking issue with Frye, Fearful Symmetry, 206ff, that "The cycle of history prophetically examined in America and Europe is not that of rebellion-vengeance-tyranny; it is of enslavement-liberation-reenslavement, the prophet's concern being how to escape the reenslavement." Although I agree with Erdman's main position, my own explanation sees the reenslavement process occurring in the poems written after The French Revolution. I see Europe and The French Revolution as ending essentially on a note of victory for Los.

98

Frye, Fearful Symmetry, 134, says "the establishment of the female-will culture of the Middle Ages, the chivalric code and Madonna-worship associated with Charlemagne and Arthur," was one of the earliest threats to the Second Coming of Jesus. Bloom, Blake's Apocalypse, 160, takes up this point as well in his commentary on Enitharmon's decision to dominate man. He says "The greater irony belongs to Enitharmon, the remote and mocking Virgin, to be worshipped throughout European history as a beauty who must be approached through a courtly love ritual."

99

Damon, Philosophy and Symbols, 98, makes an instructive point when he answers those who have "so completely misunderstood [Blake's] theory of sex." He says Blake's "attitude towards sex was determined not by any aberrations of temperament, but by a search for the highest ideal, which became an essential part of his philosophic system." Altizer, The New Apocalypse, 19, says that "Blake responds with such a shudder of horror to the fallen form of sex" not because he wanted to be avant garde, but, rather, from his conviction that in all ages of history man's energy has been perverted by the "natural morality" of the tyrant into something shameful and repressed, and that every effort must be made to free it.

[100] Percival, *Circle of Destiny*, 182.

[101] Seventeen complete copies of the *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* are known. My reading is taken from the *Facsimile* of the poem, copy C in the census, published by the Blake Trust, London 1959. Though the themes of the illustrations are not as pessimistic as *Europe*, the poem still contains a large number of illustrations that have frightening and gloomy themes. There are chains, rocks, caves, arrows, a pick axe, a vicious bird, a negro in an agonizing position, and Urizen pursuing the fleeing Oothoon. But these illustrations are contrasted with the youthful figure plucking at the nude's breast who is ready to fly away from conventional morality Oothoon in Orcian flames flying over to liberate America, and the eager daughters of Albion awaiting her return to England to set them free.

[102] Fromm, *Escape From Freedom*, 162.

[103] Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 58.

[104] Ibid., 104.

[105] Rose, in "The Symbolism of the Opened Center and Poetic Theory in Blake's *Jerusalem*," *SIEL*, 595, says that "The harmonies of discords and concords are like the love-war of jealous fallen man divided into male and female. In fact, the hermaphroditic torment of love and jealousy is one of the main themes of both *The Four Zoas* and *Jerusalem*. Consequently, male and

female are in a fallen dialectic that is cyclical, and 'woman' is abstracted, worshipped, and made mysterious."

106
Altizer, *The New Apocalypse*, 20.

107
Ibid., 23.

108
Todd, *Tracks in the Snow*, 47, says that "The subject of the Druids was the hub of one of the wheels of the speculative mythologists." The mythologists believed that the Druids had a wide influence over all peoples, basing their supposition upon the existence of a certain resemblance between the rituals employed by all primitive peoples. The Celtomanes took this to mean that all these people had learned from the Druids or drew from them. A number of authors thought that Druidism had been practised in Scandinavia. Olof Rudbeck and Snorri Sturlusons *Heims Kringla* helped to foster this notion; and Percy's translation of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* helped to give this idea some currency. Reverend William Stukeley insisted that the Druids came to Britain as a Phoenician colony in the time of Abraham and brought with them the customs and beliefs of the patriarchal religion and even the technical details of sacred architecture (thus he suggested that Stonehenge was erected by means of or according to cubit measurements used in ancient times). Owen, in *The Famous Druids*, 234, says that round and about Blake's time there were four books devoted to the subject of the Druids and Patriarchs: *Enquiry into the Patriarchal and Druidical Religion* (1754), *Complete History of the Druids* (1810), *The Identity of the Religions called Druidical and Hebrew* (1829), and *Patriarchal Religion of Britian* (1836).

[109] Fisher, "Blake and the Druids," JEGP, 600-601.

[110] Owen, The Famous Druids, 229-230, says that the "Wicker Man of Scandinavia" "is the colossus of osiers, described by Caesar and Strabo, in which the Druids burned animals and men." In this symbol of the "Wicker Man," "Blake relates his Druids to the Druids as they had been described in the classics, castigates them for misunderstanding what sacrifice implied, alludes to the spread of Druidism over the world, and condemns them for perverting an ancient esoteric doctrine which the Jews had received from them." Rose, in "Blake's Fourfold Art," PQ, 415, says that "The wicker-cage is a demonic parody of Los's furnace, a fiery container. In the wicker-cage, man is a victim and is consumed. In the furnace, man is reborn from the fiery consummation. Whereas Los supervises a regenerative process by which the human form is identified with the Divine, the Wicker Man of Scandinavia conducts a religious ceremony in which the human form is woven into the web of reason and the net of natural religion."

[111] Fisher, "Blake and the Druids," JEGP, 601.

[112] My readings are taken from America, A Prophecy by William Blake, 1793, which was facsimiled at Edmonton, 1887, by W. Muir. I also used America: A Prophecy, edited by Roger R. Easson and Kay Parkhurst Easson for The American Blake Foundation, Inc., 1974. There are seventeen complete copies of the poem still surviving.

[113] Erdman, Prophet Against Empire, 3-80, is instructive in regard to Blake being influenced by the American War. Erdman shows how Blake matured in his poems and paintings as soon as the war ended and how many of the

characters and events of this war reverberate in his work. It is important to observe that Blake looked at the War as a British patriot, not as an American rebel. He belived that what had been seen across the Atlantic will somn be seen at home. The American revolt, therefore, did not excite him simply in itself, but because of the bearing on the events of his own day. This is also the reason why, in the face of many theories on the Lost Atlantis (including Plato's Critias), he selected only those aspects which could illuminate his own narrative. Hungerford's, Shores of Darkness, 78-91, gives a good summary of theories on the Lost Atlantis that were prevalent in Blake's day.

114
Lawrence, Etruscan Places, 58.

115
Rose, "Good-bye to Orc And All That," BS, 149.

116
The French Revolution differs from other Blake poems in that it was presented to later generations in neither a manuscript or engraved form, but as printed page proof. It was set up in type by Joseph Johnson, the radical publisher, in 1791, but it was never published. Furthermore, Blake did not complete the seven books which he mentions in the advertisement to the poem. These unsatisfactory (to Blake scholars) facts have been the cause for much speculation. Both Erdman (Prophet Against Empire, 137-138) and Schorer (Politics of Vision, 254ff) claim that it was a highly dangerous time when explicit historical poems like The French Revolution would have landed the author in jail. Consequently, Blake did not publish his work. However, for the point of view I am developing, I agree with Erdman and Schorer but I am more inclined towards the evidence

supplied by Bloom (Blake's Apocalypse,66) and Halloran ("The French Revolution: Revelation's New Form," Visionary Forms Dramatic, 31,35). Bloom says: "The poem ends on a token of fulfillment,with the revolutionaries, who'in peace sat beneath morning's beam.' Blake had nothing to add, and the course of events had little to add to Blake's desired consummation." Halloran, 35, in a long note suggests "that the poem as it stands may be essentially complete." Furthermore, he asks, "Is it possible that the front matter ('A Poem in Seven Books' and 'Advertisement. The remaining Books of this Poem are finished, and will be published in their Order.') was added by Joseph Johnson or someone in his employ without Blake's approval, in an effort to dignify the poem and set it in a more familiar and acceptable context?" Halloran speculates further that "The failure of the poem to appear might have been due to a difference of opinion between Blake and the publisher-printers about the form in which it would appear." I disagree with Halloran, however, that Blake may have abandoned the poem because of "history's failure to follow the course set for it." I think that the poem, as I show in the discussion of the European cycle of history, is fully in keeping with Blake's thinking and that it accomplishes exactly what Blake had set out for it to do. It is also important to observe Rose's remarks in "Blake's 'Milton': The Poet as Poem," BS, 23. He says that "An incomplete or abandoned work is as much a whole as any other work of art, as Blake himself repeatedly asserts. Any artist's work, especially Blake 's, is simultaneously finished and unfinished, but it is always at any given point a complete whole, even if the artist succumbs to late revisions of hitherto supposedly 'completed' works."

[117] Ibid., 53. The cloud imagery in the poem has been commented upon by several Blake critics. Damon (Philosophy and Symbols, 82) counts "no less than thirty-six of them in three hundred and six lines of the poem." Halliburton ("Blake's French Revolution: The Figura and Yesterday's News," SIR , 162) says "The [cloud] image is employed so often and in so many ways that we become unduly conscious of its presence, and when it occurs in an unexpected context, we are confounded." Finally, Bloom (Blake's Apocalypse, 62) states that "the dominant image of The French Revolution is the cloud, which represents at once the failure of vision to achieve a clear form, and the failure of less imaginative perception to form a clear image."

[118] Halloran, "The French Revolution: Revelation's New Form," Visionary Forms Dramatic, 52.

[119] ibid., 48. Halloran, 41, says that as Necker "passes out of the chamber, women and children kneel round, kiss his garments, and weep. The actions recall the honor paid Christ as he moved to his crucifixion and subsequent ascension."

[120] ibid., 48. This view of Halloran, which I support, contradicts that of Raine [cited by Halloran] who sees The French Revolution as "a celebration of war."

[121] Cited by Smith, A Study of Wordsworth, 81.

[122] Schorer, The Politics of Vision, 144.

[123] Erdman, *Prophet Against Empire*, 264.

[124] Schorer, *The Politics of Vision*, 144.

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